

JPRS 71296

15 June 1978

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1547

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15 June 1978

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## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### SITUATION OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA EXAMINED

#### Czech Policies Toward Nationalities

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian No 4, Apr 78 pp 3, 4

[Interview with Juraj Zvara by Pal E. Feher: "The Proof of Internationalism: A Conversation with Juraj Zvara"]

[Text] I quote from the foreword of Oszkar Jaszi's 1912 work "The Formation of Nation-States and the Nationalities Problem:" "The starting point of these researches is rooted in the struggles and changes of the last decade of our political and social life. Wherever I looked: at the bottom of the constitutional, and social crisis of our country and in the turbulent waters of stirring emotions and confused theories, the problem that we call the nationalities question urged a solution. Because this problem is more than just the question of material and cultural happiness of half of the people of the country, those that speak different languages--it is the Archimedean point of democracy and, as such, it is the central problem of our national life." I do not want to make Oszkar Jaszi an oracle because it is easy now to find a good many mistaken views in this thick tome. The mistakes do not obscure, however, the truth of Jaszi's basic thesis: the nationalities' problems are the states' basic problems as well. The majority and the minorities constantly interact. This has always been the case and it is especially so in the societies building socialism.

Juraj Zvara's work exemplifies the truth of this thesis. Professor Zvara lectures on sociology at the Political College of the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party and is one of the deans of the college. He is the president of the Czechoslovakian Sociological Society.

Several of his books were published in Hungarian. His work, "The Solution of the Hungarian Nationality Question in Slovakia" appeared in 1965. A study, titled the "Nationalities Policies of the CPCZ in the Period of Socialist Construction and Further Tasks" was published in 1972, as part of the volume "In Our Common Land." Pravda Publishing in Bratislava printed his "The Working Class and the Nation," more than 300 pages in length, in 1977. We could apply as a legend to his life Marx' saying (which he himself quotes somewhere) "in the working class movement the truly national principles are always the truly international principles as well."

Juraj Zvara is thus an authority on nationalities. The central part of his scientific work is the research into the problems of the socialist nation, with special emphasis on East and Central European history and experience. The introductory words of Gyula Lorincz, the president of the Czechoslovakian Hungarian Workers' Cultural Society to Zvara's first book in 1965 were these: "The author is the first sincere explorer of this problem. I am convinced that his book is a significant contribution to the Marxist theory of the minorities problem. His intention is to pour clear water into the glass."

I visited Juraj Zvara in Bratislava on 22 Feb 1978. The interview is based on the tape of our conversation.

[Question] Where did you first meet the nationalities problem?

[Answer] I am 52 years old and was born in Bratislava, the town where Slovaks, Czechs, Germans, Hungarians, and other nationalities live side-by-side. To the child this meant the naturalness of internationalism on an instinctual, practical level. Later, before World War II, I went to Tesin, near the Polish border where I experienced Polish-Czech contacts. My experiences were mainly positive. I was there when the Polish and, later, the German Army marched in and fascism ruled. Thus, I experienced as a child what national hatred is but I also knew the unity of the working people.

[Question] The antinationalist unity of the working people was mirrored in the writings of the progressive wing of Czechoslovakian Hungarian literature, for example, Zoltan Fabry stood with Klement Gottwald, Marie Pujmanova, Ladislav Novomesky in 1938, protecting the unity of the Czechoslovakian Republic against fascism...

[Answer] It is well-known that Hungarian communists had a large role in our party's history. Their merits should be recognized because of the effect of German fascism. How many nationalisms, how many fascisms collided in this little area: Czechoslovakism, the 1' udak fascism on Slovakian land, the Horthyist-irredentists... The result was the Czech-Moravian Protectorate, the so-called Slovak state [Slovakia], and the Hitler-assisted Horthyist occupation of southern Slovakia in 1938. In this hellish confusion one had to scramble to keep one's head.

[Question] The situation was complicated by the fact that, as you know, both Hungarian and Slovak fascism alleged that it was the protector of the popular, national interest.

[Answer] The years of fascism prove again the validity of the Leninist principle that in every nation and nationality there are actually two nations and nationalities. Hence two national awarenesses, cultures, world views operated. The ruling classes, along with their national demagogy, sank to be the servants of German fascism. This, too, was a solidarity: the solidarity of reaction, even when the Nazis succeeded, on the breaking edge of nationalism, dividing these forces. Demagogy, however, is not identical

with the defense of national interests. In any event, no national slogan can justify serving reaction and the defense of fascist interests. Here, in East Central Europe every nation and nationality has to face this truth, based on the internationalist awareness of the working class, on their national self-knowledge and culture.

[Question] These were, if I may put it this way, the emotional sources. When and how did you start your scientific research?

[Answer] To begin with, I did not get to the world of science very simple. For a long time I was a worker, then worked as a teacher, and in 1954 I went to Komensky University in Bratislava, to Professor Sefranek's department. Professor Sefranek died 4 years ago but everybody who remembers him knows that this old party member was a sincere internationalist. He spoke excellent Hungarian and sensed the importance of the problems of the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia accurately.

This is why he thought it necessary that this question be approached through scientific enlightenment and not only emotionally or just through empirical experience of practical politics. Hence, I started research at the urging of Professor Sefranek. At the time the subject was considered complex and controversial. The most complex period was the evaluation of the years between 1945 and 1948 but even the post-1948 period held difficulties. This was the era when the Hungarian nationality in Czechoslovakia started, along with the Czech and Slovak nations, on the road of socialist development.

[Question] Permit me a personal memory... I first heard your name from Ladislav Novomesky. We once conversed in Bratislava on why and how the fate of the Czechoslovakian Hungarian fraction turned out the way it did. Novomesky said: You should read Zvara's book and then you will know that I tried to help (although I had no success)... Novomesky did not deny his personal responsibility--only warned of the reality that was more complex than the appearance.

[Answer] Novomesky, as a school and cultural affairs commissioner, counted on opening the Hungarian schools in his December 1945 work program. In 1946, at the central committee session of the party he demanded the creation of Hungarian schools. It was not up to him that neither his work program nor his demands went unfilled.

Of course these problems have to be examined in a complex fashion. It is obvious that, since we wanted to solve the situation of the Hungarian population on the basis of national separation in 1945-8, and, in fact, permitted Slovakification and other extremist nationalism, these solutions were hard, if not impossible, to be filled with class or internationalist content. We have to state this unequivocally. The party gave up these mistakes.

Other things must be considered also to understand how the Hungarian fraction lost their rights in Czechoslovakia. The national democratic revolution,

after the liberation, made alliance with the antifascist bourgeoisie natural. Let us also not forget that during the war the fighters united against fascism under the sign of patriotism and even Slav brotherhood. The bourgeoisie coined the slogan "the republic without minorities." It was an effective slogan and in the political atmosphere prevailing then the communists could not effectively fight it. The situation was made more difficult within the republic in that the question was also approached from a nationalist view in Hungary before 1948. This led to the application of "collective guilt" of the Hungarians. This principle is just as unjust as the slogan "collective innocence" which was used by certain Hungarian publicists. It is obvious that one has to differentiate--and should also have differentiated between 1945 and 1948--the attitude of the ruling layers of Hungary from that of the Hungarian workers. Just as we must with Slovaks.

[Question] A tragic situation prevailed: Hungarian workers had to pay for the crimes of the Hungarian fascists...

[Answer] It was indeed a tragic situation. At the time Klement Gottwald defined the communists' relation to the bourgeoisie correctly: "We cannot do anything without them and they cannot do anything without us." The borderline is February, 1948. After, it was possible to assure the citizenship and natural rights of the Hungarian fraction in Czechoslovakia. My first book which dealt with a Slovakian solution of the Hungarian nationality question, attempted a sketch of the complete historical path after 1945. I was not looking for guilty parties and even less for scapegoats. I wanted to write what really happened and to give a Marxist analysis of the events. The basic message of the book was determined by the fact that the communists, the party knew that this question had to be solved in the spirit of the Leninist nationality policy. This road was taken after February 1948. Let me mention that publication of my book, although it speaks to extraordinarily delicate questions, was helped and encouraged by the party.

Of course a review of history and examination of the present situation brings up new scientific questions. Before anything else, the concept of nationality has to be defined.

Then it became unavoidable to define the types of nationalities of East Central Europe. As a theoretical question, a sorting-out of the party's political principles concerning nationalities came up and, finally, one had to deal with today's practical political methods and contacts between the party and the cultural associations of the nationalities. To do this, it became necessary to find out about the nationalities policies of other socialist countries, among them the USSR and the Hungarian People's Republic. For me the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party's statement "On the Current Problems of Socialist Patriotism and Proletarian Internationalism" was very instructive.

[Question] These questions already belong to the current problems of the nationalities.

[Answer] We have to ask what it means to be a nationality. As I examine nationality awareness, it does not differ anywhere from national awareness. I would like to characterize the Czechoslovakian nationalities as unique national entities that form within the Czechoslovak state's territorial, political, economical, social, cultural, ideological, and national structure a more or less cohesive whole which broke away from their original nations, the Hungarians, Ukrainians, Poles. I could define these communities as border minorities. This means that their historical and perceptual development was identical with the original nations for centuries. Their separation was not due to an intrinsic development but to border changes. The national structure had a decisive influence on the nationalities. This does not mean that they could lose their native tongue and important elements of their culture, their national awareness, and traditions of the original nation. Apart from an awareness of belonging to the Czechoslovak socialist fatherland they also have their own national feeling--they know the order of their community and its independent traditions. This lives in them alongside the feeling of belonging to the original nation. To rephrase, in the Hungarian fraction of Czechoslovakia a part of Hungarian national feeling, a feeling of being a nationality, and a Czechoslovak citizen's feeling coexist.

These are proven by facts, not slogans: useful work, solidarity with the republic. In certain individuals the past, the irredentist aspirations come up though but we cannot say that Slovak nationalism has disappeared from all areas. However, the majority that determines the direction of development has a socialist awareness.

[Question] This is also due to the fact that Art 1 of Law 144/68 of the CSSR, the constitutional law, states: "The CSSR, the common state of the Czech and Slovak nations and the nationalities living on the territory of the republic, guarantees in the spirit of socialist democracy and internationalism the opportunities and tools of multisided development to the Hungarian, German, Polish, and Ukrainian (Ruthenian) nationalities." And let me quote Para 3 of Art 4 of this law: "Any form of pressure to deprive nationalities of their tradition is forbidden."

[Answer] I think that the more completely we assure the rights of the nationalities the less we have to contend with nationalist emotions. It is not just that we have to guarantee equal rights regardless of national origin or race--along with the rights of the individual citizen it is necessary to affix the rights of the national minorities as communities. Hence the right of representation in cultural, social, and political life and proportional representation in the lawmaking organs must be guaranteed.

Validation of these rights is not automatic. It is not that we count on some old-fashioned reflexes--rather, often an inappropriate and unscientific acknowledgment exists.



Before anything else, the stage of national feeling of a given nationality has to be mentioned. I have already mentioned that here in Czechoslovakia the Hungarian nationality belongs to the so-called border minority category. It is natural that its national awareness is more developed than, say, the Hungarian Slovaks that left the area that is Slovakia today when we could not yet speak of a well-formed Slovak national awareness. The situation does not mean, of course, that the Hungarian Slovaks should have less rights than the Czechoslovakian Hungarians. I think the principle of reciprocity is faulty because it does not take into consideration how a nationality can use constitutional guarantees. It is good that the Slovaks living in Hungary have their own association, press, and a beginning literary life. But it is a fact that in the present stage of development the Czechoslovakian Hungarian fraction has a stronger awareness and its national and cultural demands are of a higher level.

I would like to say a few words here on assimilation. Perhaps I do not even need to mention that I condemn any form of forced assimilation. But we have to recognize the right of an individual for a natural assimilation. I would like to add, though, that sociologists do not reveal a tendency to do so. It is not a matter of assimilation but a fact that bilingual ability is of vital importance.

This means that the Czechoslovakian Hungarians can best assure their communal and individual rights when they learn Slovak. This does not question the schooling or culture in the mother tongue. We should regard these as national rights and should do everything for their institutional development. But a nationality cannot shut itself inward; the whole state needs its work, culture, and practical activity. And if it does not know the language--one cannot count on its activity.

[Question] In Hungary we often say that nationalities also act as bridges and transmitters...

[Answer] This is my view, too. Nationalities are useful transmitters between neighboring states, especially when they are friendly, socialist states. There are many proofs of the Czechoslovakian Hungarians' merit in this respect. To mention but one thing: Czech and Slovak readers and writers can be grateful to the Czechoslovakian Hungarian translators and publishers for their transmittance. And the Hungarian readers can be grateful, too, because they meet the culture of brotherly nations in this way.

[Question] We could talk at length on certain details of the nationality problem. What would you say as a summary, in the knowledge of more than a decade and a half in science?

[Answer] I would like to repeat the simple truth that the guarantee of the rights of nationalities and, on the part of nationalities, the proper use of the rights is, in the period of building socialism, the proof of proletarian internationalism and true patriotism.

## Hungarian Abused in Czechoslovakia

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian No 4, Apr 78 p 2

[Article: "Some People Still Do Not Understand"]

[Text] We publish the article below (as printed in Bratislava's Hungarian daily) in its entirety.

In the last days of 1977 we received a letter from Reader F.Cs. in one of the Csallokoz villages. He wrote that he and F.B., his partner, work in one of the state-owned farms. As they are in plant growing, the management of the farm wants to transfer labor in the winter months to factories where they can work and produce in the winter also. They came to a large company in Bratislava. Their first tour lasted from November 1976 to early May 1977. They were satisfied with the work, the conditions, and the wages.

This is why they decided to return to this company, starting in mid-November 1977. "We are now in a different section," writes our reader, "but everything is still all right: we learned the job, there are new people and colleagues, the group is fine and we feel good. Or, rather, we would like to feel good."

He continues that in December he and his partner had some business in payroll. Our writer speaks Slovak fairly well (he says he can get by in it) but his friend, 57, knows only Hungarian. Everything went all right until a woman asked them where they were from. They told her, even the county. The woman continued: Haven't you had a chance to learn Slovak? Aren't you ashamed of yourselves? You know what: I wouldn't even feed you people."

"I replied only," our reader relates, "that in our area there are only purely Hungarian villages and there is not much chance to learn Slovak." Then he continues: "I may be mistaken but I don't think that my 57-year old buddy who was born in the Csallokoz, stayed there through thick and thin and help to increase the wheat crop from 2 to 6 tons a hectare and now works in this factory had committed such a crime, not knowing Slovak, that he should not even get food." He ends the letter: "It appears that there is a fault here, too, like when there is no one to cut the barren wild shoots off a fruit tree."

Thus our reader. We notified the president of the company. We asked for an investigation and an assurance to prevent a recurrence. The answer came only when we repeatedly urged it. "The complaint," the president writes, "is not true as you state in your letter. The matter occurred with X.Y. in our payroll group. When we asked her if she said the words

you allege she said, she categorically denied it." He continues that the factory employs Slovaks, Hungarians, Poles, Bulgars, and other nationalities and no such event has ever occurred in its 30-year existence.

This is all very nice but there is not a word in the reply about what the complainer said to the president. Did they talk to him? The answer is no, they did not. The man is 57 years old. The president did not talk to him, does not even know what he looks like. We asked him what should we do next? He said: "Nothing." But it made him very bitter that today when the party carries out an open and consistent struggle for the implementation of the decision taken in the 15th Congress of the CPCZ which clearly expressed the equality of the nationalities living and working in our land, came out against any kind of nationalism and for the triumph of proletarian and socialist internationalism, that there are still those who consciously violate this correct guide and, in fact, ignore it... "Some people still do not understand," asks F.Cs., "that we live in the same country. Don't they understand that our working class is united--regardless of nationality? Do they not understand that our interests are common, our tasks are common, that we work for the same goals? This is why we live in the same land."

This is our opinion, too! (Laszlo Batky, UJ SZO, 17 Feb 78).

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### ROMANIANS USE HUNGARIAN SOURCES TO REFUTE HUNGARIAN EMIGRE

Bucharest SPTAMINA in Romanian 19 May 78 pp 1, 7

[Article by D.P. Cris: "Restorations With Their Own Evidence..."]

[Text] A few months ago, we encountered an individual who had fled from his own people and who is attempting, from afar, to teach us the history of the Romanians, a history which never happened!

Up to now no one has ever said that we came to these parts only through the good will of the Hungarian kings, in the 12th and 13th centuries, [that] we came as shepherds from the south of the Danube?!

Of course, among other numerous pursuits, the Dacians were also interested in sheep raising. But they did this on these lands--according to historic evidence--some scores of centuries before the arrival of the Hungarians. If Mr Haraszti were not in such a hurry to write the history of the Romanians--improvised, of course--he would have been able to study, more easily and more profitably, the history of his own nation.

He would have found out that there are Hungarian historians whose opinions are completely different from his. For example, in 1880, the Rautmann Publishing House, in Budapest published the work, "Szabadsagharczunk" (Our Struggle for Freedom--that is, the struggle of the Hungarians), by Elek Jakab, who writes in black and white on page 193: "Under Decebal, the authority of the Dacians encompassed Transylvania up to the Tisa in a monarchy and the constitutive element of the state at that time was the Dacian people; the country and the king were theirs. On this land which the Hungarians conquered with arms and have been controlling for 1,000 years there live today (1880) approximately 200,000 Hungarians and a half a million Szeklers--a warlike people--whom our Romanian brothers cannot drive away or dislodge and I believe that the most moderate among them do not desire this."

From the above quotation, Mr Haraszti would have been able to see (and he still can) that our historic beginnings were known to his confreres in history and that they were not hidden or denied but stated objectively, with a great sense of responsibility in treating historical issues.

But let us look at things from a statistical viewpoint since the figures are full of harsh truths. After a thousands years of domination, the Hungarian population in Transylvania reached only 200,000. This means that during the past century it was clearly a minority in comparison with the other three groups: Romanians, Szeklers, and Saxons.

Although the Romanians were not recognized as a nation in Transylvania, their power of resistance--based on their number and density--to the endeavor of the Hungarian minority to annex Transylvania to Hungary, on the basis of the "Unio" law (which we will discuss on another occasion) unleashed the broad social phenomenon of the revolution of 1848, with all its clearly favorable consequences for the Romanians at a later period.

In the long period of Hungarian domination before 1848, one cannot speak about a realistic political and administrative leadership since the spirit of arrogance and lack of consideration for the coinhabiting peoples, the spirit which animated the Hungarian aristocracy, knew no bounds. Here is proof: in the work of Elek Jakab, mentioned above, it says on page 73: "The aristocracy in Transylvania considered its existence to be eternal and was of the opinion that even if the entire society and the entire political system were to change, it would be able to keep Transylvania, this small territory as a vestige of the Middle Ages turned into stone, as a mummy of mankind, hermetically sealed far from all progress, far from the spirit and ideas of the times. It did not believe that freedom is like air which penetrates everywhere, like ideas which are spread as widely as possible, like thunder which breaks the waves of air, moving ceaselessly until it covers all depths with its rumble".

The Romanian people relied upon these concepts of freedom when they asserted, with resolution, that their rights of two millenia on this land be recognized, the land on which they were born and which they did not conquer temporarily, like others!

The opinion of the author quoted (and not only his opinion) in regard to the rights given by the Hungarians in regard to Transylvania is also of interest. This explains many things, including the Don Quixote-type behavior of Mr Endre Haraszti. We quote from page 193:

"We conquered the country by means of weapons; we gave it a name and a king; we raised it to the level of a state; it can be taken only by this means (by weapons) and not by plebiscite or universal vote. In regard to these facts the former fate of this land and people is not important. Today it is ours, the legal property of the nation. We will not give this up nor will we be forced to do so; on the contrary, on the basis of the present form of the state and of all the rights which derive from it, we will fight against anyone to the last Hungarian and we believe that we will defend it. We are aware of our mission in this regard, we have national ambition, and we will take care to also have the necessary strength."

Mr Endre Haraszti must also recognize that according to the ideas of the period in which we live, the motivation and ideas stated above are very obsolete and the opinions of the Hungarian academician Jakab, clearly expressed on page 69 of the work cited can give him much food for thought: "The legislation of a nation is based on actual conditions in the private and social life of the nation. The nobility almost exclusively made the law and too few citizens representing the Hungarian, Szekler, and Saxon cities were able to become involved in it. The nobility always issued laws which its interests required."

Instead of drawing any conclusions, let us quote for Mr Haraszti, the following passage from page 67 of the work of Jakab: "The Hungarians had an inadmissible attitude toward other peoples, being arrogant and conceited without limit in their national pride. For this reason, it was difficult for them to come close to and assimilate other peoples speaking a different language and therefore, for centuries, they were not able to make a single people out of them."

I close with the thought that Mr Haraszti will appreciate the fact that I have done him efficient service by pointing out to him some sources which he has not studied. Besides, these sources are from his own country which he probably would no longer recognize because of its gigantic progress and changes. These include the renunciation of chauvinistic concepts, based on narrow class ideas, inhuman ideas which no people would uphold in our times!

A wind of freedom is blowing through the whole world, knocking down the final remains of the feudal-noble scaffolding, wherever it is still found.

It will make Mr "Don Quixote" Haraszti very happy if he has embarked on the restoration of a world defeated and vanished forever.

CSO: 2700

## ALBANIA

### POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION RECALLED

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 11 Apr 78 p 3

[Article by Prof Aleks Buda: "In the Framework of the 100th Anniversary of the Albanian League of Prizren--Popular Movements Serving as a Background for the Growth and Development of Our National Renaissance"]

[Text] The first 30-40 years of the 19th century found the Albanian lands engaged in a general resistance, in various forms, directed against the Sublime Porte, a resistance that developed into broad regional uprisings.

The situation in Albania in those years constituted one of the factors that helped to further weaken the Empire. The events in Albania were, indeed, a link in the common struggle of the Balkan people for liberation from the autocracy of the Porte and it was considered thus by the most lucid and farsighted contemporaries.

However, the subjective aspects were not yet responding completely to this objective reality that was breaking through the path; without a clear and united political program, these massive armed movements, with popular roots, were in danger of being disparaged as local movements, badly organized and, at the very end, to fail, as it happened in reality. But, even so, since the thirties these movements, in fact, raised the demand for a special status, a kind of autonomy, to be granted to the Albanians, excluding them from centralized reforms. This demand, which had its ups and downs, remained, in reality, on the agenda until the end of the empire, as a key problem in Albanian-Ottoman relations.

To say that the new social forces, the Albanian bourgeoisie, and the intelligentsia born from its ranks were not yet in the position of taking these movements completely in their hands and of guiding them, does not mean to deny--as a part of foreign historiography does--the new dimension which these popular movements were taking, the movements which constitute the background upon which our National Renaissance grew and developed and, at the same time, its first phase.

The theoretical development of this realistic experience is the work of a number of distinguished ideologists of the years 1845-1871, such as N. Veqilharxhi, E. Mitko, and Z. Jubani. The demand for education in the language of the people, for new laws, and special economic reforms for the Albanians, and intended only for the Albanian lands, thus, satisfied the demand for a special status and constituted in essence the demand for Albanian territorial autonomy within the framework of the Ottoman Empire.

It was clear that the settlement of the affairs of Albania was not a matter concerning only the Albanians; first of all, it placed the Albanians opposite the Porte and, consequently, posed the following questions: What would the attitude of the Porte be and would the Albanians find allies in this confrontation on the international level, first of all among their Balkan neighbors?

The hopes of these leading figures, that is, that the Porte itself would have interest in such a settlement, thinking that this settlement did not affect the integrity of the empire, but that, on the other hand, it secured it by placing the Albanian lands in the position of confronting by themselves and with success the aims of the neighboring countries, were not fulfilled even at the time of the 1876 Constitution. Such a concession would be, even according to the opinion of the Grand Vizier Midhat Pasha--known as a liberal--the beginning of the deterioration of the empire.

The situation into which the Porte had reduced Albania created a very favorable setting for achieving the plan for a daring expansion for the ruling circles in these states. For the government rulers in Montenegro and Serbia and for the Russian diplomats, behind them, the situation of continual uprisings had made Albania and the Albanians an important factor, as, for example, Serbian Prime Minister Garashanin expressed himself; but, according to Abdyl Frasheri, they saw in the Albanians not "allies" but "submissive" people. Starting from an allegedly scientific theory, which later, found a complete "theoretical" argumentation in Cvijici, that is, that the Albanians constituted an entity with a nationality still uncrystallized and unspecified, the governmental circles of these countries were drafting plans and concluding agreements for the partition of Albanian lands.

Under the conditions when the international arena was under the domination of powers defending the status quo and, on the other hand, when Russia, in order to secure the extension of its influence toward the Mediterranean, was supporting by all means the expansionist policy of the Christian countries in the Balkans, there was no other solution for the Albanian National Movement, until a more favorable turn in the international circumstances, but for the Albanians to remain within the framework of the Ottoman Empire, guaranteed by the International Peace Treaties of Paris in 1856, thus, assuring the Albanian people their unity and the integrity of their lands, as one of the essential conditions for their national existence. This was



a realistic solution, the only one under these circumstances. The struggle for fulfilling these demands, on the internal and international political level, was the great task left to be resolved, a task which was taken and led further by the activists of our Renaissance, and this also was why they did not fulfill them in the years of the Eastern crisis.

We dealt with this question in order to stress the fact that the Albanian Renaissance had formulated, as we saw, its basic lines for the resistance and action since before the Eastern crisis of the outbreak of the Russian-Turkish War. Naturally, the effect of these stormy events served as a catalyzer that accelerated the complete crystallization of this process which had started on time.

The stormy events of the war, and the complete defeat of the empire, the violation of the Albanian lands by the military forces of the Balkan allies, of Russia, "the preliminaries" of Peace in Andrianople and, finally, the Treaty of San Stefano, created the conviction in Albania that the end of the empire was near and, that under these circumstances, the end of Turkey might also be the end of Albania.

Under these difficult conditions, a duty was fulfilled which, in spite of all efforts, had not been solved for a long time: the creation of a single and representative organizational center for the Albanian National Movement, which began its activity in secret in Istanbul--"the Central Committee for the Defense of the National Rights of the Albanians," composed of the most progressive forces of the Albanian intelligentsia of the time.

It was clear for the committee that its task of the day was to take in its hands and to lead that massive movement which in the Albanian provinces affected by the events of the war, was trying to confront with its own forces any unexpected event now that the Turkish army had withdrawn from the arena and that the forces of the neighboring countries had penetrated into the Albanian border territories. The great capitalist powers intervened in the settlement of the "Ottoman inheritance."

However, a large portion of this Ottoman "inheritance" was not, in reality, composed of Turkish lands; on the contrary, it was composed of lands inhabited by Albanians, as well as by populations of Macedonia. The creation of the western Bulgarian province, which Russia had imposed on the Istanbul Conference in January 1877, affected large areas with an Albanian population that extended to the Drin (River).

The Montenegrin and Serbian troops, which during the military operations had penetrated in the regions with an Albanian Moslem population, at once began a massive displacement action. Prince Nicholas had declared that he would not lay down his weapons until the Drin River had become the southern border of his country. On the other hand, Prince Milan of Serbia

was not far behind in his activity: in the beginning of the war, in 1876, he was drafting plans for assimilating a part of Albanian lands as his share of war booty. In an order of the day addressed to his troops, which had penetrated into the lands inhabited by Albanians, Prince Milan advised his troops as follows: "The more Albanians you displace by force, the greater your merit to the fatherland will be."

The attitude maintained by the great powers toward the question of the Albanians also helped in rendering difficult the situation of the Albanian movement. The attitude towards the Albanians, expressed in the cutting off of their lands by the Treaty of San Stefano in determining the borders of New Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Serbia, showed that the tsarist diplomacy considered it more profitable to bond the Slav states of the Balkans behind its policy in this manner. But, the sworn enemies of Russia--Great Britain and Austria-Hungary, the defenders of the principle of status quo in the Balkans, were not any more inclined to recognize the demands of the Albanians. Thus, the Albanian movement was in a more difficult position than that of the other Balkan peoples. It had to confront by itself, and without any foreign support, a very difficult situation that placed the fate of the country on the cutting edge of the sword. This was a very important negative factor.

Under these conditions, the tactics of the Albanian National Movement could not be properly directed against the Porte alone, as it was happening with the other Balkan peoples. It had to fight in two fronts: against the invading policy of the Balkan monarchies for the defense of its territorial integrity and national unity, as well as, against the Porte in order to win autonomy within its united national territory. However, none of these aims could have been guaranteed otherwise but by war so as to fully confirm the principle of nationality against opposing factors--the neighboring governments and the Porte.

The tactics of the war on two fronts and of the conditional alliance with the Porte were executed by the Albanian Committee and its depending forces in a more or less consistent manner, in spite of the difficulties carried out by the Porte in a continual manner after the first "shock" was gone, as well as, by its partisans, the boys, pashas, Turkophile clergymen and so forth.

If the committee managed to confront these various difficulties, this happened because the Albanian National Committee, was not simply an illuminist movement of intellectuals, but a movement that had armed masses behind it, which had been in action for the protection of their lands, and managed to create the necessary organization for their guidance: the Albanian League of Prizren.

(Excerpted from the first part of the paper "The Albanians Confronting the Eastern Crisis of the Years 1878-1881")

## ALBANIA

### 'ATA' COMMENTS ON SOVIET, U.S. NAVAL PRESENCE IN MEDITERRANEAN

Tirana ATA in English 0933 GMT 24 May 78 LD

[Text] Tirana, 24 May (ATA)--The news agencies report that two Soviet warships, the helicopter carrier "Moskva" and a destroyer with teleguided missiles, passed from Bosphorus Strait to the Mediterranean. Another Soviet "Tango" type destroyer passed from the Bosphorus to the Mediterranean some days ago. Meanwhile, recently, it was reported on new NATO manoeuvres in the Mediterranean.

The Mediterranean region, due to its important strategic position, has constantly been in the center of the attention of the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union. At present, there are nearly 200 U.S. military objects in the Mediterranean area. The Soviet social imperialists, too, exert all their efforts to increase their war presence which is expressed in the increase of the military ships, roaming the Mediterranean, in the visits of "courtesy" they pay to the coastal countries of this region, etc. The various military-sea manoeuvres the two superpowers conduct in the Mediterranean, are also an expression of their aggressive and warmongering activity in the Mediterranean region.

Through their military presence in the Mediterranean the two superpowers try to exert pressure and blackmail on the coastal countries, to influence in the policy of these countries in compliance with their hegemonic and expansionist plans. The U.S. and Soviet military activity is especially activated in the areas where tension is raised, the situations change, etc. This testifies to the fact that the two superpowers try to exploit these situations, created and instigated by they themselves, to draw profits from them, to interfere in the home affairs of the others, to establish "solutions" in conformity with their imperialist interests.

Such an imperialist activity of the USA and of the Soviet Union has dangerous consequences for the freedom and independence of the peoples of the Mediterranean.

CSO: 2020

ALBANIA

'ZERI I POPULLIT' ON TWO 'SUPERPOWERS' DISARMAMENT STANDS

Tirana ATA in English 0938 GMT 29 May 78 LD

[Crocodile Tears on Disarmament"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 29 May (ATA)--Under the above title, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT publishes an article which says among other things:

In the political activity of the two imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, the last 2 months have been months with many clamorous demagogic statements on their "readiness and desire," on "disarmament" and "reduction of armed forces" and at the same time the months with numerous concrete actions of armament and increase of their aggressive military forces.

The newspaper stresses that the imperialist and social imperialist chieftains as well as their emissaries in the world, the UNO and other international organisations, shed crocodile tears on disarmament.

The USA and the Soviet Union, writes the newspaper, are two imperialist superpowers, which control almost all the frenzied armaments race of all kinds, both conventional and mass extermination weapons, which develop and have in their hands the monopoly of the world trade of armaments. Both of them have conducted over 1,000 tests of various nuclear weapons. The USA and the Soviet Union have extended their air, naval and ground bases throughout the world. According to the recent data of the press, 70 per-cent of military expenditure on a world scale belong to the two superpowers.

The crocodile tears, underlines ZERI I POPULLIT, cannot deceive the peoples of the world. The peoples know that if it is really spoken on disarmament, this should in the first place and mainly affect the two imperialist superpowers, if it is spoken on deatomisation, this should in the first place and mainly affect the two imperialist superpowers, and if it is spoken about the reduction of armed forces, this, too, should affect only these two superpowers, who want to legalize the maintenance of their forces

in the territories of the other countries, they can also maintain their blackmail and threats, the fear and insecurity which the military machine instills in others, and the permanent pressure which their weapons exert even if they are not fired." The campaign of the USA and of the Soviet Union on disarmament, the endless plans and projects presented sometimes at a conference or talk, sometimes at another conference and talk, are only bluffs and lies. Through this they want to hide their real armament. Therefore, the peoples do not cherish illusions and expect no kind of disarmament from any imperialist power, the more so from the two super-powers. They enhance their vigilance and increase their resolute opposition against their dark and aggressive plots and plans to occupy and divide the world and for the outburst of new conflicts against the freedom loving peoples and countries, the newspaper writes in conclusion.

CSO: 2020

ALBANIA

TIRANA RADIO MARKS AFRICA LIBERATION DAY

Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 24 May 78 AU

[Unattributed commentary: "The Peoples of Africa Are Determined To Intensify the Struggle for Freedom and National and Social Independence"]

[Excerpts] Our people, together with all the progressive, revolutionary and freedom-loving forces of the world, will celebrate Africa Day tomorrow. The event finds the peoples of Africa on the road to further consolidating their national independence, unity and resolute struggle to destroy and uproot the colonial and racist remnants in the south of Africa.

On their road toward genuine independence and freedom the peoples of Africa are now more determined than ever. Their experience in the struggle against the old and new colonialists has shown that the constant process for total social, economic and political liberation of the peoples of Africa cannot be furthered without unity and a resolute struggle against the hegemonism of the two imperialist superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, and other imperialist powers--the most savage and sworn enemies of the peoples of Africa. The flame of the armed struggle includes Zimbabwe, Namibia and Tanzania where the patriots are ever more increasing the armed struggle against the racist cliques and their supporters, the imperialist powers.

The emissaries of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism are roving all over Africa, while their aggressive fleets pose a real danger to these countries. Thus the shrewd diplomacy, the dollar and the ruble, and the military blackmail are taking place in a coordinated fashion. This is an (old effort) practiced by the superpowers to replace the old colonialists and racists and the new colonialists designed to bind the countries which have attained freedom with neocolonialist shackles.

However, the peoples of Africa are now alert and ever better aware of the machinations, traps and intrigues concocted by their enemies of all hues. The events which occurred a short time ago in Angola, the events in the Horn of Africa which have taken place this year, and so forth, have made

the fact clear to the peoples of Africa that behind the olive branch waved by the United States and the Soviet Union and behind their demagogic statements regarding alleged efforts for a settlement of the problems of the peoples of Africa lie their neocolonialist fetter, their vile aims designed to sabotage the struggle of the Zimbabwe, Tanzanian, and Namibian peoples for their rights. Thus it is becoming ever clearer who are the true friends of the peoples of Africa and who are their enemies whose intentions are aimed at placing the knife in their backs. They are becoming ever more aware every day that they cannot, in any way, achieve their aspirations by relying on one or the other superpower, because both of them are equally dangerous to their freedom and destinies.

On the day dedicated to Africa, the Albanian people convey warm greetings to the peoples of Africa and express to them their profound feelings of sympathy, class solidarity and unreserved support for their just struggle.

CSO: 2100

## ALBANIA

### BETTER STUDY OF FOLK CULTURE NEEDED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 20 Apr 78 p 1

[Anonymous editorial: "Let us Know and Study our Folk Culture in All its Aspects"]

[Text] Our people have resisted the innumerable storms of history, first of all, with armed struggles for defending themselves, for winning, and for preserving their freedom, and also with no less heroic struggles for keeping their national language and culture clean and untouched. This wealth, kept and developed through wars and struggles, is our contribution, as a nation, to the treasury of world progressive culture and constitutes for us an object of legitimate pride.

We did not receive the new socialist culture ready-made, nor did we borrow it from outside; we created it, and we are further enriching it, first of all, by exploiting the traditions of the progressive national culture in a creative manner, from the positions of the Marxist-Leninist ideology of our party; in these traditions, for known reasons, the traditions of the folk culture occupy a rather important place. "The study of the cultural traditions of our people, and the discovery and study of cultural and artistic monuments,--Comrade Enver stressed,--are carried out not only in order to know the past of our country and of our people; in this work, however, we are also led by the aim of learning from the experience of our forefathers, so as to enrich and develop the cultural values, which they have left to us in legacy, in accordance with the new conditions and demands of our socialist society."

Today, when pursuing their aims for world domination, the two superpowers herald the so-called "overcoming of national schools" and "internationalization" of culture, the knowledge, the study, and the exploitation of folk culture traditions are even more timely.

With the paternal concern of the party, our Albanological sciences have undergone a rapid development and are in a position to develop and to solve many problems dealing with the creative enrichment and exploitation of folk



culture traditions. A better organization in work and with clear perspectives, and the efforts to avoid manifestations of spontaneity and of one-sidedness, as well as those of academicism and empiricism, will, in the future, make it possible to find a more complete solution for the problems of the present stage of development of our socialist culture.

In the years following the liberation, our ethnography and folklore began the work of researching, gathering, arranging, and recording factual materials in which the cultural creativeness of our people is contained. It so happened because, first of all, these scientific disciplines began work almost immediately and, afterwards, also because the rapid development of the country caused many elements of the material and spiritual culture of the people to develop and evolve and, eliminated some others. The work for researching and gathering these values continues and will also continue in the future. Along with it, our ethnography and folklore have also made their first steps for the study of these values. The present stage of our scientific development and the various problems brought about by extending the cultural and ideological revolution require the undertaking of more studies without neglecting the researching, gathering, and arranging activities. There are many problems waiting to become objects of study, such as, for example, the generalization of the experience of folk architecture and applied folk arts, the illumination of the course of evolution of our folk culture, the study of the relations between the local and national [culture] and between the native [culture], which is at the foundation of our culture, and that which is borrowed, and closely linked with the latter, comparative studies on the relations of our folk culture with the cultures of the neighbor countries, so as to find the reciprocal influences between them and to discuss them.

Our ethnography and folklore, in opposition to the bourgeois and revisionist views, do not limit their interests only to the past; on the contrary, first of all, they aim at responding to many current problems that arise from the present development of our folk culture. The changes that have taken place and are taking place in culture, the arts, and the way of living of our people, as a result of the great socialist transformations, can become more and more the object of our studies. Problems, such as the integration of the experience and of the positive values of the folk culture in the new socialist culture, and of the relations between cultivated art, amateur art, popular artistic creativity, and so forth, open new broad prospects for various complex studies. First of all, those studies which are essential and urgent for further extending the cultural and ideological revolution will also be undertaken here, as in any field. Of particular interest also are the efforts to overcome empiricism in the assigning and solving of problems, such as the use of folk art designs in our industry, the evolution of folk costumes in the conditions of the socialist construction, and other problems of this kind which are connected, in one way or another, to our socialist economy. The demand that, first of all, the problems connected with the practice of our revolution should be handled in various fields can be fulfilled with the necessary scientific seriousness if a number of

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theoretical and methodological problems are correctly clarified, a matter which requires a good knowledge of the basic principles and aesthetics of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the teachings of our party and Comrade Enver. This assumes a particular importance since the superpowers are trying to spread their ideological influence over the culture and science of other countries, even through theoretical and methodological guidance.

As is seen, a mass of problems, particularly connected with the folk culture, are laid down before our Albanological sciences. The complex character of the folk culture itself demands that the forces of the specialists from the most varied fields of social sciences be engaged in and cooperate in its study, including ethnographers, folklorists, art scholars, sociologists, linguists, historians, and so forth. Nevertheless, even this is not enough. For example, today, in our country, there are more than two thousand cultural monuments, which have been discovered and taken under the protection of the state; but, not all of them have been fully studied. In order to achieve this, dozens of years would be needed, taking into consideration the number of specialists of the Academy of Sciences today and the rate of excavations and discoveries which we have had until now, when the people want to know these values as soon as possible, and, all the more, when some of them are in danger of losing their value over the centuries. Differences of this nature can be solved only if the recommendation of the party is taken into consideration, that is, that the technical and scientific revolution should be carried out by the masses, as in any other field. The great army of the various specialists, including about 34,000 teachers, can do a lot in the field of researching, gathering, and studying the cultural values created by the people in their history up to the present day. For a more serious involvement of these forces, along the organizational measures, a systematical work is also required in order to encourage and train these forces.

9150

CSO: 2100

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### CSSR AMBASSADOR, 'LE FIGARO' EXCHANGE ARGUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Paris LE FIGARO in French 24 May 78 p 14

[Letter and reply to Jean-Paul Picaper: "A Letter from the Czechoslovak Embassy"]

[Excerpts] [After we have published an article by our special correspondent in Bonn, Jean-Paul Picaper, "Prague and Baghdad, Most Important Bases of International Terrorism" (LE FIGARO, 16 May), we received letters written by the ambassadors of Iraq and Czechoslovakia.

First of them was published on May 18. The second one we print today. A short text by Jean-Paul Picaper serves as a reply.]

#### CSSR Ambassador's Letter

Careful reader who would search the text for concrete evidence of the grave accusations announced in the headline, will feel cheated and will feel indignation. It is because the only evidence offered consists of alleged diplomatic status in Czechoslovakia of certain "Palestinians" who work for an Arab embassy and often travel in the West. That speaks--according to LE FIGARO--of the logistic role of Czechoslovakia in the service of terrorism and bears testimony to that. A funny logic. In reality, if anything is proven by these allegations, it is the bad faith and lack of scrupulousness on the part of the author of the above-mentioned article. Let's be serious! If in France--or any other country--the diplomats, be they of Arab, Palestinian or Jewish origin, travel in cars enjoying diplomatic status, does it prove a logistic role of that country within international terrorism?

It is even more absurd and without any foundation to maintain that the "Red Brigades" terrorists have been trained in the area of Prague. This is purely and simply a provocation.

Yes, it is necessary to battle terrorism but it must be done by efficient and proper means and not with the help of ill-intentioned articles, whose

only visible purpose is to channel attention of naive and superficial readers into false strange channels, instead of explaining the political and social roots of this evil under which many countries suffer.

Jean-Paul Picaper's Reply

At present communist parties disclaim any responsibility in terrorist matters. However, according to Alfred Fabre-Luce writing in LE FIGARO of 2 May, "several years ago, the communist party and the Red Brigades spoke identical language. Simultaneously, the Brigades were trained in Czechoslovakia; this fact is well known."

It was this publicly known fact which was referred to by the Italian press and which was recalled in the Italian Parliament. GIORNALE NUOVO has written that Mario Moretti, interrogated this week as silent partner of the Red Brigades Press, was educated in Czechoslovakia. These Italian activists were trained in the vicinity of Karlovy Vary in the early 1970's. The terrorist Schneider, arrested in Amsterdam in November 1977, together with one of the abductors of Schleyer, arrived in Holland from Baghdad, having made a detour via Prague.

The West German police which put this information at the journalists' disposal, estimates that the "logistic support" furnished to Palestinian and European activists is not limited to airplane tickets, vehicles and printing enterprises (Zucker Erbsen-Verlag in West Berlin), but includes large amounts of money.

CSO: 3100

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'RUDE PRAVO' ATTACKS 'LE FIGARO' ON QUESTION OF RED BRIGADES TRAINING

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 May 78 p 7

[Article by Alois Volf: "Relay Race of Lies Continues"]

[Text] More than a week ago we answered in this space a provocative assertion of the Parisian newspaper LE FIGARO that terrorists of the so-called Red Brigades had allegedly been trained in Czechoslovakia. The aforementioned paper belatedly repeated this assertion which had been made by certain Italian newspapers. After a rather lengthy silence, LE FIGARO took up the argument again. On the one hand--with considerable tardiness--the paper printed a protest letter sent by the Czechoslovak Embassy in Paris, on the other hand it tried to repair its original lies by new slander, so that the French reader might not get doubtful as to the "seriousmindedness" of LE FIGARO.

Where did LE FIGARO look for the "new facts?"

First, in equally questionable Italian press sources, which even the newspaper IL MESSAGGERO described as fabrications.

Further "evidence" was requested by the newspaper--through the good services of its Bonn correspondent--from the West German police. The West Germans were not stingy in supplying the correspondent with tales of their experiences with air pirates and terrorists from certain countries outside of Europe. They mentioned even that a West German terrorist flew to Amsterdam from the Near East via Prague, which in LE FIGARO's opinion should constitute one of the main proofs that Prague serves as a base of international terrorism. Nevertheless, even the West German police did not confirm the provocative assertion of LE FIGARO that the terrorists were trained in Czechoslovakia. Thus the soap bubble burst against LE FIGARO's will.

But one can see that LE FIGARO is not disturbed by it and with boundless impertinence it upholds its offensive fabrications. It continues to deceive the French public by its egregious slander. This public's growing unrest about the growth of neofascism and terrorism, not only in Italy but also in the German Federal Republic and, last but not least, in France itself, is well known, as well as the fact that people are looking for the causes, for the persons responsible--directly or indirectly--and for their sponsors. Parisian LE FIGARO apparently belongs to those reactionary forces which try to channel people's attention in the wrong direction.

EAST GERMANY

LDPD HOLDS CONFERENCE ON NATIONAL DEFENSE

Dr Gerlach on LDPD Role

East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 12 May 78 pp 3-4

[Excerpt from speech by Dr Manfred Gerlach, LDPD (Liberal Democratic Party of Germany) chairman, to the LDPD Conference on Socialist National Defense held in East Berlin: "Defense of the Socialist Fatherland is an Obligation for Us"]

[Excerpt] We Liberal Democrats are aware how great is the imperialist threat to detente and peace, and how imperative therefore the mobilization of the forces for peace and world over. That holds true especially for the FRG because there old and young champions of Prusso-German militarism and fascism do everything possible to fuel aggressive tendencies.

We also nurture tradition. Our youth should be aware what life and struggle were like in the olden days, what ideals and dreams induced mankind to arrange their world as peacefully and humanely as possible.

In our eyes the nurture of tradition and the encouragement of a sense of history has always been linked with making our members aware also of the sacrifices which had to be brought, and what lessons were learned from history by the working class and its allies. The valiant humanists of the late Middle Ages and modern times, the pioneers of democratic social systems, all representatives of the revolutionary workers movement and, not least, many upright bourgeois personalities of the antifascist struggle are among our examples; and an internationalist and progressive young generation here is being educated as patriots in their image.

National defense readiness cannot be guaranteed only by material-financial expenditure. However, necessary it is, however significant the best possible weapons equipment for an army, in the final analysis the deciding factor is man, his attitude to national defense and to the fatherland.

The victorious war of liberation conducted by the Vietnamese people is the most valid proof of this assertion in the recent past. It has demonstrated that military strength is not the overriding factor. It must be accompanied always by the unity of material and moral potential in the respective social system. One principle has universal application: Ultimate victory in an armed conflict is not achieved by arms, not by machines but by man who uses, services and maintains them, utilizes their perfection and power. Socialist national defense is primarily a matter of people, their hearts and minds, their readiness and will to defend their socialist homeland and repel any imperialist aggressor or--in case he attacks suddenly--destroy him!

Increasingly party members use their own experiences from the exercise of active party work to show that the reinforcement of GDR defensive strength is not just a matter for the armed organs but for every single citizen, every single Liberal Democrat. Many senior cadres who are members of our party--managers of collectives in enterprises, cooperatives and other facilities--have incorporated national defense or military training in their management activities. More and more Liberal Democrats are actively committed officials and trainers in the GST [Society for Sport and Technology] and help that organization become the socialist defense organization of the GDR.

Support for socialist national defense, the encouragement of defense readiness and military training--these assume that our politico-ideological work is solidly based on the tenet that socialist national defense is primarily a matter of people, their civic consciousness and their will to defend the fatherland, guard and cherish the lives of all citizens.

That is why this conference on problems of national defense is addressed to all our members, wherever they may work, in order to recruit them for further active and creative cooperation in the preparation of the 30th anniversary and the implementation of the main task. By committing themselves to these purposes they also make an important contribution to the protection and defense of our country and its citizens.

It is therefore imperative persuasively to motivate the love for our socialist homeland, our pride in everything which has been created in 30 years of labor by the common efforts of the National Front, led by the party of the working class. Most important here is not our recollection of past achievements and memories but the necessity for keeping our sights firmly fixed on tomorrow. We know perfectly well what we want to do: Our country is to become even more beautiful and appealing.

The GDR is well worth defending as the home of true humanity, freedom, democracy and social security.

We Liberal Democrats acknowledge this task. We will think and act for the benefit of the reinforcement and defense of our socialist fatherland, the fatherland we love!

Adm Verner on Military Balance of Forces

East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 12 May 78 pp 3-4

[Report on Adm Waldemar Verner's speech to the LDPD Conference on Socialist National Defense: "Our Army Gains its Power from the Strength of the People"]

[Text] "Today's LDPD conference on problems of socialist defense policy continues a notable tradition of discussing the problems and tasks of its common responsibility for strengthening GDR defense readiness at a special committee. We are aware of your party's activism in faithfully discharging its responsibilities in the field of national defense, loyal to the constitution and the alliance with the working class. Consonant with this continuity the 12th LDPD Congress resolved in future also to attribute special importance to support for GDR national defense." The speaker particularly appreciated the growing contribution of LDPD members to socialist military training, civil defense, reservist collectives and the GST. He conveyed to them cordial greetings from Army General Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and Minister for National Defense, as well as from the council of the Defense Ministry.

Turning to defense matters, the admiral stated: "We consider an indivisible unity the organization of the developed socialist society and the defense of this process against the enemies of socialism. Far from being a temporary commitment this reflects the fact that we in the GDR resolutely implement the general inevitabilities of the socialist revolution. These include the defense of the achievements of socialism.

Internationally this inevitability is reflected in the fact that, after the evolution of the socialist world system, a collective defense alliance was established by the nations of the Warsaw Pact, and that close comradely relations are developing between the socialist armies, especially with respect to the armed forces of the USSR, the chief military power of socialism. Their realization calls on each socialist country for military efforts which correspond to the specific national potentials and conditions as well as the historic peculiarities of the respective country and also the international obligations accepted. Independent of this or that measure adopted by imperialism and exclusively postulated by the existence of this aggressive system, it is our duty at all times reliably to make the GDR secure from the military aspect."

For defense activities this basic assumption gives rise to the need to motivate defense activism not only by topical references, said the admiral.



The National People's Army, he said, discharges the class function assigned it by preventing the enemy from obtaining advantages in the military balance of strength by great combat force and readiness and shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Army and other fraternal armies. "We always assume," he emphasized, that an approximate military balance has emerged between East and West, for example in Central Europe, and between the USSR and the United States.

The problem here is to foil continuing NATO efforts to shift the military balance of strength in its favor. That is why, at the Vienna negotiations for example, it was necessary to reject proposals which would have provided NATO with unilateral advantages in the matter of weapons and combat strength in Central Europe. The GDR fully agrees with the demand formulated in the joint declaration on the visit to the FRG of Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This says that the Vienna negotiations should achieve for Central Europe a more stable situation at a lower military level, but based on the undiminished security of all concerned.

Dealing with the neutron weapon the speaker emphasized: "It is not from weakness that we advocate a ban on the neutron weapon. We are concerned only to prevent a new escalation of the arms race, keep clear the approach to an extension of detente to military measures and successfully advance toward it."

It is essential to appreciate that a manylayered social mechanism is at work in the chief imperialist countries, functioning in the spirit of rearmament and the exacerbation of international tensions. Among the most important forces sponsoring the arms race are the national and multinational monopolies of the military-industrial complex. They crucially determine the defense policies of imperialist governments. Their preeminence is supported by significant political groups and parties, organizations and parliamentary factions, institutions and facilities of the capitalist state."

Admiral Verner reminded his audience of the outstanding role of leading NATO generals who are involved with arms production, the planning and preparation of military conceptions as well as interested in the reinforcement of the status of militarism and the extension of their influence on foreign political strategy. "Typical for all these forces is the insistence on traditional conceptions of the immutability of military policy even in the conditions of a changing world. The NATO countries therefore always keep their military instrument combat ready in the interest of the maintenance and expansion of their power, and in doing so they shy away from neither effort nor cost. The United States dominates NATO. In this aggressive military alliance the United States exercises undisputed hegemony."

As the central concern of all NATO military efforts the speaker described the shift in the military balance of strength in its favor. NATO is capable of taking the military initiative, and its military potential is relentlessly being increased.

"This situation is particularly acute in Europe. Europe continues to be the crucial factor in global American strategy and the strategic concept of the Atlantic Alliance. Here the nations of the Warsaw Pact and NATO directly confront one another. Consequently the concentration of military forces and resources is exceptionally great in the West European NATO countries. Some 7,000 nuclear warheads are stored in the U.S. military depots of these countries. They may be delivered by more than 3,000 carriers--aircraft, rockets or artillery. Stationed in the FRG, in addition to the Bundeswehr, are the chief forces of the American Army in Europe, the British Army of the Rhine and other NATO contingents. Warehoused west of the Elbe is the entire heavy equipment--from tanks through cannon--for further army units which, at the onset of an aggression, are to be promptly brought in from the United States. In the FRG last year, for example, a beginning was made in the complete exchange and modernization of American nuclear weapons and, as a preliminary, U.S. combat groups are being reinforced by two brigades which are to be the nucleus of a new army corps.

Thanks to the farsighted defense policy of the SED and our socialist government, as the result of the efforts made by the citizens of our country for the reinforcement of the defensive strength of the German Democratic Republic, we are not unprepared in the face of NATO machinations. Our republic has an organized national defense supported by the working class and the people as a whole."

In this connection Admiral Verner stressed that socialist military training must always observe the unity of patriotic and internationalist education. "The unity of national and international concerns," said the speaker, "determines our every step in the development of the GDR's defense strength. Pursuing this principle the SED subordinates its revolutionary strategy and tactics to the internationalist principle. By leading to victory the socialist revolution in the GDR, we as a socialist nation provide our most important contribution to the advance of the revolutionary world process.

Part of the fundamental social transformation in our republic was the gradual preparation and establishment of national defense forces.

The National People's Army of the GDR also embodies the sovereignty of our workers and farmers power; it gives military expression to the dignity, self-respect and self-confidence of our people. Only by the discharge of this profoundly patriotic duty is it possible to put the military potential of the socialist order of society in our republic at the service of the collective defense of socialism.

The National People's Army is the army of the liberated people of the German Democratic Republic. It guards and defends the interests of the developing socialist German nation. Just as it says in the appeal for the 30th anniversary of the GDR, it also exemplifies the radical breach with everything reactionary in German history.

The armed forces of the GDR continue the glorious revolutionary traditions of the armed struggles of the German working class and other progressive movements. Alive in them is the spirit of the peasant armies and the patriots of 1813, the revolutionary fighters of 1848 and 1918, the People's Naval Division, the fighters of the Red Guards and the Red Ruhr Army, the heroes of the Hamburg uprising and the antifascist resistance. They guard the ideals of progressive military men in German history, such as Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, Clausewitz and others.

As a national fighting force in the truest sense of the word, the National People's Army is able to do justice to its internationalist responsibility precisely because it is rooted deep in our people and derives its military strength from the strength of the people. It is therefore no accident that the enemy is playing the card of bourgeois nationalism and does not spare any effort to counterfeit the terms fatherland, nation and national people's army, robbing them of their class content and replacing them by demagogic doctrines of the persistence of the German nation and all-German unity. At the same time the enemy's attack is directed against socialist internationalism, against the class and defense alliance of the nations and armies of the Warsaw Pact. Attacks of that kind are aimed at the workers and farmers power, at socialism in the German Democratic Republic.

Our socialist patriotism is unalterably opposed to these aims. By its nature it represents the consistent political and ideological rejection of imperialist policies and the profession of socialism. Socialist national consciousness, based on pride in our armed forces and all other defense and security organs, has nothing whatever in common with national arrogance. As Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, explained to the first Kreis secretaries of the SED, 'we are guided by the concept that any narrowness and purblindness is alien to the national self-image of the people of the GDR.'

Our patriotic education is indissolubly linked to the consolidation of internationalist attitudes. Friendship toward the Soviet Union, its army and navy, the consciousness of unity with the socialist fraternal nations and the obligation to anti-imperialist solidarity continue indispensable features of socialist personalities." Thus Admiral Verner sketched the substantive content of socialist defense education which assumes particular importance especially in view of the GDR's 30th anniversary.

The speaker expressed his conviction that the members of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, conscious of their joint responsibility for the defense of the socialist fatherland, will do everything possible to at all times satisfactorily discharge their military obligations.

EAST GERMANY

SED MESSAGE, SPEECH TO CYPRIOT PROGRESSIVE PARTY CONGRESS

Central Committee Greetings

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 May 78 p 1 AU

[Text] To the 14th Party Congress of the Progress Party of the Cypriot Working People (AKEL), Nicosia.

Dear Comrades!

On the occasion of the 14th AKEL Congress the SED Central Committee conveys to all Cypriot Communists cordial and fraternal militant greetings.

The GDR Communists feel most closely linked with AKEL, the recognized vanguard of the Cypriot workers class and of all progressive forces in the struggle for the defense of the Cypriot people's social and national interests.

We use this opportunity to reaffirm anew to the Cypriot Communists and to all progressive forces of the country our unbreakable internationalist solidarity with their just struggle for a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. Our party fully agrees with the AKEL that such a solution is only possible on the basis of full respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the republic of Cyprus as well as of the withdrawal of all Turkish and other foreign troops and the elimination of their military bases.

Together with the other communist and workers parties we are struggling for peace and security, for the consolidation of the process of detente, against the arms race stepped up by imperialism, for concrete steps toward disarmament. Our parties consider the struggle for the consolidation of the unity of the communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism, the implementation of the action goals agreed on at the Berlin conference of the communist and workers parties of Europe, as an important prerequisite for a successful struggle.

The SED wishes the 14th AKEL Party Congress good success and expresses the conviction that the Cypriot Communists on the basis of its decisions will win further successes in strengthening their Marxist-Leninist Party as well as in the struggle for the consolidation of a broad alliance of all anti-imperialist and democratic forces of Cyprus.

With communist greetings,

[Signed] Central Committee of the SED, E. Honecker, general secretary.

Walde Speech

East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1730 GMT 26 May 78 LD

[Excerpts] Nicosia--(ADN correspondent)--The experience of the past and the tasks of the future were the main subjects at Friday's deliberations of the 14th AKEL [Restorative Party of the Working People] Congress.

Cheers and applause greeted the first addresses by the representatives of 33 fraternal parties. The leader of the SED delegation, Werner Walde, candidate member of the Politburo, conveyed to the congress the most fraternal, militant greetings of the Central Committee and its secretary general, Erich Honecker, as well as of all SED members, and presented the SED's greetings address. With stormy applause the congress thanked Werner Walde for the presentation of the portraits of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

Werner Walde stressed: "We wish to stress once again that the SED fully supports the proposals and demands of the Restorative Party of the Working People of Cyprus for a peaceful and democratic solution of the Cyprus problem. The GDR emphatically supports the USSR's proposal to convene a representative international conference on Cyprus within the framework of the United Nations." The efforts of imperialism to hamper the growth of socialism, halt the advance of the national and social liberation movements, and reverse the international balance of power in its favor were unmistakable. This was clearly shown by the unchanged efforts of imperialism to interfere in the internal affairs of the Cyprus people, to foil a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem and to turn the country into a NATO base.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

'DPA' REPORTS RELEASE OF 125 POLITICAL PRISONERS

Hamburg DPA in German 1019 GMT 26 May 78 LD

[Text] Berlin--About 125 political prisoners from GDR prisons have been released ahead of schedule during the past 2 weeks in two large transports to the Federal Republic. This was announced today by the 13th August working group. Generally speaking, they had been released after serving a third or half of their sentences.

Some 17 people involved in aiding escapes--all Federal citizens or West Berliners--were released from the Rummelsburg Prison near East Berlin. In addition, 47 GDR citizens were released from Cottbus and 18 women from Hoheneck who were for the most part sentenced for escape attempts. It was learned that others were released from the Brandenburg, Buetzow-Dreibergen and Bautzen II prisons.

Among the GDR citizens were some sentenced for "incitement hostile to the state," "slander of the state," "damage to state and social activity," and "taking up contacts hostile to the state."

For the most part, those released concur in reports that the improvements in prison conditions introduced in early summer were carried out but that since then, no other substantial improvements have been made.

The GDR prisoners were released in a procedure, practiced for many years, which involves lawyers from East and West Berlin. The GDR and Federal Republic agreed on quotas and prices based on the professional qualifications of the prisoners. Each year, several thousand GDR citizens benefit from an early release to the West.

CSO: 2300

## EAST GERMANY

### SOLIDARITY GOODS SENT TO AFRICAN PEOPLES

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20-21 May 78 p 2 AU

[Summary] Directly before the beginning of the GDR "week of solidarity with the peoples of Africa struggling for national and social liberation and against racism" three special interflug planes will leave this weekend with solidarity goods for Africa. Kurt Krueger, secretary general of the GDR Solidarity Committee, declared in an ADN interview that the cargo consisting primarily of foodstuffs, clothing, medicine, laboratory equipment and writing utensils constitutes new proof of the GDR's solidarity with the peoples of Africa. The shipment, worth M3.5 million was primarily financed from donations of FDGB members and is earmarked for the OAS Liberation Committee as well as for the People's Republics of Benin and Mozambique. In addition, the United Republic of Tanzania will get additional vaccines.

According to Kurt Krueger, the committee dispatched this year as many as 15 charter planes with urgently needed solidarity goods worth more than M15 million to Africa. However, these shipments are only a fraction of the comprehensive efforts to support the peoples of this continent that are struggling for freedom and social progress, he said. In this context he pointed out that the motor ship "Schwerin" was currently headed for Mozambique to supply the flood victims there with blankets, tents and clothing. The South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) has received, among other things, the complete equipment for a hospital this year.

CSO: 2300

## EAST GERMANY

### CONFERENCE ON TOPICALITY OF MARX TEACHING HELD

#### Influence of Socialism Discussed

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 May 78 p 3 AU

[Summary] Karl-Marx-Stadt--On 18 May the participants in the international scientific conference in Karl-Marx-Stadt continued their discussions on the topical significance of Karl Marx's economic teaching. The discussion speeches dealt primarily with the influence of socialism on the revolutionary world process, problems of developed socialism and the intertwining of general and cyclical crisis and its consequences for the working people in the capitalist countries.

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"In his speech before the plenum, Prof Nikolay Kuzmin (CPSU) described the criterion of developed socialism in the USSR and declared that the working out of the theory on this by the CPSU and the fraternal parties constitutes a great contribution to Marxism-Leninism." "A vivid picture of the phenomena and effects of the general crisis of capitalism was given by Karl Marx's great-grandson Robert Jean Lonquet, by Fritz Rische (DKP) and by Prof Dr Herbert Aptheker (Communist Party USA)."

In the discussion in Working Group One, 11 participants from capitalist countries dealt primarily with the social consequences of the current cyclical crisis which lead to an exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism. In Working Group Two the influence of Marx's teachings on the revolutionary world process was discussed. Also on the second day of the conference, foreign participants had an opportunity for talks with working people at industrial enterprises and agricultural production cooperatives.

#### Conference Ends

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20-21 May 78 p 4 AU

[Summary] After 3 days of discussions the international scientific conference on the topicality of Karl Marx's economic teaching ended at



the Karl-Marx-Stadt city hall on Friday. In addition to economic scientists and economists from our republic it was attended by representatives from 37 communist and workers parties and from socialist parties. Speakers on the last conference day dealt with various aspects of the application of the economic laws formulated by Marx. "Prof Dr Dragoljub Dragisic (LCY) described the study of Marxism-Leninism by the broadest strata of the people as a necessity in view of their active participation in the shaping of new social relations. The final discussion speaker Dr Lev Gatovski spoke about the economic application of Karl Marx's economic teaching by the CPSU. He dealt particularly with the dialectic connection between scientific-technical progress and the advantages of socialism."

In his concluding statement Prof Dr Helmut Koziolk, director of the Central Institute for socialist management at the SED Central Committee, assessed the conference as an important exchange of experience and said that the discussion, in which 42 conference participants took the floor, gave an impressive picture of what has been done regarding the creative application of Marxism-Leninism since the October Revolution, and what has to be done in the future.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

DELEGATION RECEIVED BY JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER

East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1408 GMT 19 May 78 LD

[Text] Tokyo (ADN correspondent)--On 19 May Japanese Foreign Minister Sunao Sonoda received in Tokyo a delegation of the GDR People's Chamber headed by Dr Hans Modrow. The foreign minister paid tribute to the successful development of relations between the two states since the establishment of diplomatic relations in May 1973.

The program of the delegation which arrived in Tokyo on 17 May also included meetings with the president of the Upper House, Ken Yasui, and the speaker of the Lower House, Shigeru Hori. They stressed the common interest of Japan and the GDR in the preservation of peace and voiced their satisfaction at the remarkable progress achieved in economic cooperation and relations in other important spheres.

Naotsugu Nabeshima, chairman of the parliamentary Japan-GDR friendship group in the Upper House, and Dr Modrow stressed at the meeting the benefit of close contacts between parliamentary deputies for the further development of relations between the two states.

During a visit on 19 May to the headquarters of the ruling Japanese Liberal Democratic Party an exchange of views took place between Dr Modrow and the party's secretary general Masayoshi Chira. Hans Modrow conveyed greetings from Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, which were cordially reciprocated. The well-developing relations, Chira said, will be furthered by fresh impulses. Cooperation between Japan and the GDR not only benefits both sides but also helps to assert the principle of peaceful coexistence in international relations.

CSO: 2300

## EAST GERMANY

### OPERATION OF WATER CROSSING VEHICLES DESCRIBED

East Berlin AR-ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 4, Apr 78 signed to press 26 Jan 78 pp 40-45

[Article by Lt Col E. Allmendinger, engineer: "Ferry Operations with GSP"]

[Text] Although all modern tanks today are suited to underwater movement and most armored combat vehicles and SPW's [armored personnel carriers] can float, it is still not always possible for them to surmount a water obstacle, a river or a lake, under water or by floating. This applies if bank conditions and the river bottom exclude underwater movement, or if the installation of land crossing points is not possible. But how is one to get across the water in such cases? A wooden blade will hardly work. Ferries are the appropriate means for tanks. Caterpillar-track ferries. They are succinctly termed GSP's in the technical jargon. In clear text: self-propelled caterpillar-track ferries.

The land crossing equipment of the engineers includes these amphibious vehicles in addition to amphibious trucks. In contrast to the amphibious trucks they are intended only for ferrying the heaviest loads. Tanks, bridge-laying equipment and other equipment are what is piggybacked across the "pond." The GSP's are loaded in the water as soon as there is sufficient water under the tracks (more than the width of a hand). The advantage in this is that no prepared shores are necessary, either for loading or unloading. The carrying capacity is over 50 Mp [megapounds].

There is nothing new about the idea and the desire to have crossing equipment suitable for water obstacles which are difficult to cross, especially when troops are attacking. As regards the equipment which is to be moved across, the desire and idea are just as old as the equipment itself.

In addition to the development of commonly known bridge and crossing equipment--track bridges, pontoon bridge units and other equipment--the efforts of the military experts were first directed toward making the tanks themselves capable of floating. This was to be made possible by attaching additional floats. English and American efforts in this method are well known. Pontoons were attached to the tanks, on both sides, the front and the rear. The

buoyancy of these floats was sufficient to keep the tank above water. The pontoons were filled with light material whose density was about 0.05 kg per cubic decimeter and which guaranteed adequate buoyancy even with bullet holes or damage. After the water obstacle was surmounted the pontoons were blown off their mounts without the crew having to get out of the tank. Another variation was flexible floats. They could be taken along folded up. Before crossing, the device was inflated. It then covered a firmly fixed metal frame. Of course this type was not immune to bullet holes. After crossing the water the air could be let out immediately and the pod folded up again.

Results with these devices were altogether unsatisfactory. They had too many disadvantages. Much transport space, time and additional personnel to get the assembly ready were required. The tanks were quite slow in the water and the vulnerability of the floats was generally too high. The Soviet Army pursued a different course. This was to develop amphibious vehicles.

Work in this direction began in 1930. It took only 2 years from drawing board to the first experimental model, and the first amphibious tank entered the water. It was still a little fellow, the 3.5 ton T-37. And its speed in the water was not exactly a world record, either--all of 4 km/hour. By 1940 they had added the T-38 and the T-40, the latter significantly improved in its technical performance parameters. The greatest value of these "ancestors" was the experience gained from them. There is a direct line from the T-37 to today's amphibious combat vehicles in the socialist armies, to the amphibious vehicles of the engineers.

After fully 20 years the self-propelled ferry saw the light of the world of modern military equipment. That was in the mid-1950's. It has been serving for more than 2 decades as proven crossing equipment for the engineers in the armies of the socialist military coalition. It cannot be worn out, so to speak.

A GSP has two half ferries which are mechanically coupled in the water. The extraordinarily large capacity of the vehicle stems not only from its ability to float, but also from the large booster floats. These are simple pontoon-shaped, completely closed sheet-steel bodies with a reinforced track part. When traveling on land they are located on the chassis, to a certain extent like a rucksack. On the water they are hydraulically lowered and locked. This produces a closed support device for heavy loads.

The ramps are located laterally along the floats. They can be opened out hydraulically and mechanically. The track width of these ramps accommodates medium tanks. If one happens to meet such a ferry coming across country one takes it to be a clumsy monster that can only crawl. But that is a big mistake. In spite of the high superstructure and the fact that the center of gravity has been raised, the speed is so fast that the ferries can follow a tank column. When traversing difficult terrain and on convoy routes the speed is naturally reduced.

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To be ready for us, the GSP's follow directly behind the tank force or they arrive at the crossing point via separate routes. In this way crossing can be started immediately. As already mentioned, specially-created landing stages are not necessary. Also, the ramps are so long that the tanks can drive on the ferry from level as well as from steep banks. Because the ferry needs a certain water depth to keep from going around, the tanks and SPW's go through the shallow water near the bank.

Water depth also plays an important role for a loaded ferry because the load must not make the ferry sit so deep in the water that it cannot float freely. Since exceptions test the rule, they are possible here, too. If need be, the ferry can also pass through shallow places with both kinds of drive (land drive and water drive).

At the ferry crossing points one does not hear the call "ferryman ahoy!" In this instance military commands are in control. Nevertheless, brisk ferry business describes the scene. Arriving and departing, driving on and off, crossing and returning, a well-devised rhythm. The ferrymen wear armored helmets, their ferry equipment is armored equipment, tested, sturdy and reliable--the equipment of our Soviet friends.

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CSO: 2300

## EAST GERMANY

### SED'S VERNER ADDRESSES SPORTS ASSOCIATION CONGRESS

East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0900 GMT 27 May 78 LD

[Excerpts] Berlin--The Sixth Congress of the German Gymnastics and Sports Association of the GDR [DTSB] continued at the Dynamo Hall on Saturday morning with a discussion.

One of the speakers at the Sixth DTSB Congress on Saturday was Paul Verner, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee. He conveyed to the delegates the most cordial greetings of the SED Central Committee and its General Secretary Erich Honecker. Paul Verner stressed that the years between the fifth and the sixth sports congresses were among the most successful in the development of physical culture and sport. During this time the socialist sports organization continued to grow in strength politically, ideologically and organizationally, and is proving itself at a higher level as the initiator and organizer of sport in the GDR.

"In the sports arenas of the world GDR sportswomen and sportsmen have by their bearing and performance helped to gain popularity and prestige for our socialist German state." This was stated by Paul Verner in his address at the Sixth DTSB Congress in Berlin on Saturday. The Sixth Festival of the Gymnastics and Sport and the 1977 Children's and Youth Spartakiad, he continued, "were manifestations of strength and vigor, of beauty and zest for life. This, the biggest and most comprehensive sports event in the GDR so far, was an impressive manifestation of the support of youth and sportsmen for socialism and peace."

The speaker paid tribute to the outstanding achievements at the Olympic Games in Montreal and Innsbruck where the greatest and most important successes so far were achieved. The great achievements of the socialist sports organization took a worthy place in the successful overall record of GDR society.

Physical culture and sport are becoming increasingly important in the continued shaping of the advanced socialist society, Verner continued. "If at this sports congress you set yourselves the task of taking the growing

sports requirements, interests and inclinations of the citizens even more into account, in order to make the mass character of physical culture and sport even more comprehensive, you will be fulfilling an important requirement of our time."

About children's and youth's sport, leisure and recreation the speaker said: "Regular sports activity already has a firm place in the lives of many young people. Practice, training and contests harden the body. Qualities like courage and persistence, discipline, stamina and collective action are fostered, joy and enthusiasm are aroused. Our party highly appreciates these endeavors and qualities because they promote a healthy way of life and serve the all-round education and communist upbringing of the young generation." The party regards leisure and recreational sport as an important contribution to the constant improvement of working and living conditions. The new joint sports program of the DTSB, the FDGB and the FDJ serve the same purpose.

Paul Verner paid tribute to the fact that the 1980 Olympic Games will be held in the USSR and stressed: "The firm and indestructible alliance of GDR sport with Soviet sport was and is a secure foundation and decisive source of strength for its successes."

The speaker continued: "The DTSB of the GDR has done a great deal in the past to give great support to the young nation-states of Asia and Africa and the countries of Latin America in the development of physical culture and sport." This policy in the spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity will be continued. The DTSB also maintains extensive relations with sports organizations in many capitalist states. "It is in keeping with our policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems to continue to promote this cooperation in future."

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

FRG CITIZENS ARRESTED--Berlin (ADN)--In the afternoon of 19 May 1978 GDR security organs again thwarted a provocation against the transit agreement organized by the secret-service controlled Mierendorff gang. FRG citizens Kurt Kuhn and Georg Reissberg were caught red-handed at the Staaken GDR border crossing point. The secret service agent Kay Mierendorff from Kellinghusen (BRD) had instigated them to continued misuse of the GDR transit routes. Investigating proceedings have been started and arrest warrants have been issued. The truck that was employed in the transit misuse and was especially prepared in violation of Article 6 of the transit agreement, a "VW 21" with the license number FUE-AK 295 was confiscated. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 May 78 p 2 AU]

TRANSPORT OFFICIAL IN AFGHANISTAN--Kabul--Dr Klaus Henkes, deputy GDR minister of transport, who visited Kabul for talks on the conclusion of an air traffic agreement between the GDR and Afghanistan, was received at the conclusion of his visit by Nur Mohammad Taraki, chairman of the revolutionary council and Prime Minister of Afghanistan. During the meeting their mutual interest was expressed in developing further the friendly relations between the two countries. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2201 GMT 24 May 78 LD]

GOETTING-AUSTRIAN CP TALKS--Vienna--(ADN Correspondent)--Gerald Goetting, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council and president of the GDR league for international friendship, had a friendly talk in Vienna on Friday with Franz Muhri, chairman of the Austrian Communist Party. On the same day a new branch of the Austria-GDR society was opened in the presence of the GDR politician at Wiener Neustadt the largest industrial center in lower Austria. Goetting's program also included lectures on: "The Relations Between the GDR and Austria as a Contribution to Peace, Security and Detente in Europe" and "The Position of Christians and Churches in the GDR." These talks were organized by the Austria-GDR Society. [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1217 GMT 19 May 78 LD]



YUGOSLAV DELEGATION VISIT--Dr Manfred Gerlach, deputy chairman of the GDR state council, on 11 May received a delegation led by Maj Gen Dr Vuko Gozetic, member of the Federal Executive Council and Federal State Prosecutor of the SFRY, for talks. During the conversation which was conducted in a friendly atmosphere problems related to the further deepening of cooperation between the two countries and experiences, particularly in the sphere of the administration of the law, were exchanged. Participating in the talks were Dr Josef Streit, GDR Prosecutor General, Heinz Eichler, State Council Secretary, and Milos Melovski, SFRY ambassador in the GDR. The Yugoslav guests are paying a several days visit to the GDR at the invitation of the GDR Prosecutor General. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 May 78 p 2 AU]

MALAYSIAN CHARGE D'AFFAIRES--Dr Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary and GDR First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, received on Wednesday John Tenewi Nuek, Malaysia's charge d'affaires to the GDR, in connection with the beginning of his activities in the GDR. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 May 78 p 2 AU]

NEW AMBASSADOR IN VIETNAM--Hanoi--Nguyen Huu Tho, vice president of Vietnam, has received Klaus Zorn, newly appointed GDR Ambassador to Vietnam, to receive his letters of accreditation. The meeting took place on Thursday. The diplomat conveyed the fraternal greetings of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, which were cordially reciprocated by Nguyen Huu Tho. During the ensuing discussion, both personalities expressed their conviction that the close, friendly relations between the two states would be steadily consolidated and developed on the basis of the friendship treaty signed during the successful visit to Vietnam by a GDR party and state delegation last December. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1001 GMT 18 May 78 LD]

DANISH CP DELEGATION--Karl-Marx-Stadt--The Danish Communist Party delegation led by its chairman, Joergen Jensen, which is currently visiting the GDR, arrived in Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk on Thursday for a 2-day visit. The party representatives were cordially welcomed by Siegfried Lorenz, first secretary of the Bezirk Management. During a friendly discussion, Siegfried Lorenz briefed the guests on the competition achievements of the workers of this Saxon area in preparation for the 30th anniversary of the GDR. In the Karl-Marx-Stadt area one-third of all machine tools and processing machines produced in the GDR are manufactured. More than half of all textile products of the GDR come from this area. During the afternoon, the delegation is visiting the industrial town of Zwickau. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1115 GMT 18 May 78 LD]

JUSTICE MINISTERS CONFERENCE--Berlin--The 5th Consultative Conference of Justice Ministers from 11 socialist countries ended on Thursday in Berlin. Present on the third day of the consultations were delegations from the CSSR, Bulgaria, the GDR, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, Hungary and Vietnam. The delegations briefed each other on the most important activities in the field of legislation and application of the law in their countries since the fourth justice ministers' conference in Sofia in September 1976. The conference participants discussed how socialist law helps to implement the socialist state's economic policy. Particular attention was paid to the systematic utilization and augmentation as well as protection of socialist property. The participants established that progress had been made in all countries in consolidating socialist legality and order of law. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1303 GMT 18 May 78 LD]

AID SHIPMENT TO ETHIOPIA--Solidarity goods from the GDR, transported by an interflug special plant to Ethiopia, were handed over on 15 May by GDR Ambassador Dieter Klinkert at Addis Ababa's International Airport. The most recent solidarity shipment by the GDR working people comprises medicines and woolen blankets for the state aid and rehabilitation commission as well as 30 sewing machines, 4,700 meters of fabric and 30,000 reels of sewing thread for the women's section of the provisional office for affairs of the mass organizations. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 May 78 p 2 AU]

JAPAN-GDR FRIENDSHIP GROUP--A parliamentary Japan-GDR Friendship Group was founded on Tuesday at the lower house of Japan's Parliament. It includes representatives of all major parties represented in Parliament including the governing Liberal-Democrats. A similar group has existed in the upper house for several years and has acquired great merits in developing the relations between the two states. The founding members of the group invited the delegation of the GDR People's Chamber that is currently in Japan and is headed by Hans Modrow, chairman of the GDR-Japan Friendship Group in the people's chamber, to attend the event. The GDR delegation head conveyed to the Japanese deputies the greetings of the GDR Parliament, and thanked them for their initiative. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 May 78 p 2 AU]

GDR DELEGATION LEAVES ETHIOPIA--A delegation of the GDR Red Cross headed by Secretary General Johannes Hengst left Ethiopia after a 5-day visit during which he discussed bilateral relations with the Ethiopian Red Cross leadership. During a tour of the country the GDR delegation had the opportunity to acquaint itself with the work of the Ethiopian Red Cross and to convince itself of its urgent need for solidarity support. So far, the GDR Red Cross has sent Ethiopia aid shipments worth more than M1 million. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 May 78 p 2 AU]

HONECKER, STOPH GREET JORDANIAN LEADERS--Berlin (ADN)--Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, and GDR State Council chairman, has sent a congratulatory telegram on Jordan's national holiday to Husayn I, the king of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. On the same occasion Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, has sent congratulations to Jordanian Prime Minister Mudar Badran. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 May 78 p 2 AU]

NEW ENVOY TO PDRY--Aden--Salim Rubayyi 'Ali. chairman of the Presidential Council of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and deputy general secretary of the Central Committee of the United Political Organization National Front, on 23 May received the GDR ambassador to the PDRY, Ernst-Peter Rabenhorst, to be presented with his credentials. During the following friendly discussion, the partners at the discussion praised the high level of bilateral relations and stressed that harmonious views existed between the two countries on all important international issues. They expressed the wish of the two states that the close, trusting cooperation based on the common struggle for peace, international security and social progress, against imperialism and reaction be further developed and strengthened on an all-round basis. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1648 GMT 23 May 78 LD]

AMBASSADOR TO TUNISIA--Habib Bourguiba, president of the Republic of Tunisia, received on 12 May GDR Ambassador Dr Alfred Peukert in order to accept the latter's credentials. During the subsequent talk the two sides expressed the desire to develop further the bilateral relations on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence and in the interest of maintaining world peace and international security. [East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 2300 GMT 12 May 78 LD]

SOLIDARITY GOODS TO ETHIOPIA--GDR solidarity goods arrived today in Ethiopia. The aid consignment carried by a special interflug plane included medicines and textiles. A few days ago, the GDR solidarity committee decided to support Ethiopia, as the new revolutionary center in Africa, with extensive supplies. The main part of these consignments are financed with FDGB donations. As the FDGB national executive announced the trade union members in [year indistinct] alone transferred almost M170 million to the solidarity account. [East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 17 May 78 LD]

SOLIDARITY GOODS TO ANGOLA, LUANDA--ADN correspondent--A further GDR solidarity consignment for Angola was handed over on Sunday by GDR ambassador Horst Schoen in Luanda to leading officials of the MPLA Central Committee. The consignment consists of photographic equipment and school teaching material. [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1230 GMT 14 May 78 LD]

FRG CHANCELLOR--Bonn (ADN)--In a statement to Nuernberger Nachrichten Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB Federal Executive, has rejected remarks made by FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt at the Hamburg DGB Congress as "out of place" and as "highly presumptuous." In his speech, Schmidt had asserted that there was "no trade union freedom" in the other German state. Since Schmidt made this statement "knowing perfectly well that we were present," Tisch said, the question arises whether the chancellor is interested in a further development of the relations between the FDGB and the DGB. Tisch stressed that by his visit to Hamburg he wanted to deliberately stress the "good cooperation with the DGB." It could at the same time promote a good-neighborly relationship between the two German states. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 May 78 p 2 AU]

GREETINGS TO SUDANESE LEADER--Berlin (ADN)--Erich Honecker, GDR State Council chairman, and Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers chairman, conveyed cordial congratulations to the president and prime minister of the Democratic Republic of Sudan, Ja'far Muhammad Numayri. In the telegram they express their conviction that the relations between the two states will further develop and grow stronger in the struggle for peace, security and disarmament, against colonialism and racism. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 May 78 p 2 AU]

GREETINGS TO ARGENTINE PRESIDENT--Berlin (ADN)--On the occasion of the Argentine national holiday Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, conveyed the best congratulations to Lt Gen Jorge Rafael Videla, president of the Republic of Argentina. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 May 78 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2300

JURISTS DISCUSS LEGALITY, PUBLIC AWARENESS OF LAWS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 May 78 p 5

[Interview with Jurists Dr Gyorgy Gonda, Dr Imre Markoja, Dr Zoltan Nagy, Dr Adam Takacs by Laszlo Szabo; portions enclosed in slantlines were italicized in original text]

[Text] "There are too many laws" was the government's view last year after it listened to the report of the minister of justice on code simplification. Is it possible to know them all? Is it sensible to ask that a citizen know all the codes that apply to him? Is it still true today that ignorance of the law absolves one? All these questions deal with the people's knowledge of the law and the fundamental elements of legality.

The answers were sought at a roundtable discussion by Dr Gyorgy Gonda, chairman of the Legal and Judicial Committee of the parliament and chairman of the Vas County Council; Dr Imre Markoja, minister of justice (deputy minister at the time of the conversation); Dr Zoltan Nagy, deputy chairman of the Supreme Court; and Dr Adam Takacs, deputy chairman of the National Council of Lawyers and president of the Zala County Bar Association. Laszlo Szabo represented our paper.

Dr Z. Nagy: The classic statement "Ignorance of the law is no excuse" cannot be applied fully today, at least in general terms. It is different in criminal cases where the rules have such a moral content that they almost suggest to the citizen: this you cannot do and that you can.

In other areas, however, codes are in such abundance that they are impossible to know in totality. Yet they have to be obeyed, the disputes have to be decided....

Dr I. Markoja: Legal order would collapse if we agreed that ignorance of the law absolves one from responsibility. Who would rule on the fact and degree of ignorance?

Dr Z. Nagy: This is true. I would be satisfied if all attorneys knew the regulations. It is no accident that specialization is occurring in the law. Lives are more complex and the law reflects that. This is why it is hard to simplify.

Dr I. Markoja: It is really hard. Yet, an attempt to simplify should be demanded from the drafters of the law otherwise the law becomes impossible to understand precisely by those who have to keep to it. Of the principle mentioned above, I want to say that it has another implication also. The authorities and law enforcers of the socialist state cannot "look from the outside" whether a client knows the legal rule: it is their basic duty to enlighten as well as assist citizens in their activities, duties, and rights. In everyone of our laws we mention this so-called educational-informational obligation. If the authorities do not fulfill this or give incorrect information, then the citizen may be absolved of responsibility. This important task is done by the various legal and social organizations, such as the Society for the Propagation of Scientific Knowledge (TIT), the Hungarian Bar Association, or the union legal aid services. It is necessary for all citizens to know as much of the law as possible not only so they will know what they can do in a given case but because knowledge of the law strengthens socialist legality also. What I mean is that authorities, the law enforcers, the officer holders are expected to know and keep the rules as much as the citizens. The further development of socialist democratism cannot be conceived without a thorough knowledge of the law. It is possible to fulfill an obligation and to practice law only by those who know the law.

Dr Gy. Gonda: If the citizens know the law the authorities' work will be easier, too: The man who knows his rights and obligations will turn to the state organs with a better basis, avoid unproductive arguments and senseless litigations. Just as it is impossible to get anywhere in the fight against bureaucracy and for simplification of administrative work without legal knowledge by an office holder.

I think it needs, like everything else in life, priorities. The first matter of import is that the citizen know the /constitution/ and his /basic/ rights and duties. As for the individual laws, we should strive for the fact that the citizens know /where/ to turn for legal advice. If Z. Nagy would be satisfied with the thorough knowledge of jurists and office holders, I would just be pleased if every citizen knew our constitution and the principles and legal framework therein and also what follows it.

Dr A. Takacs: Even the young do not know the constitution. I go to home-room classes a lot and that is when I realize this. The reason is that it is not taught, although the children should learn the basic principles of citizen behavior as early as in the general school. If this is missing there is nothing to build further legal knowledge onto: the basic rules of family law, civil law, statecraft, the criminal code.

NEPSZABADSAG: It appears that the faulty decisions of the authorities and their incorrect handling of the citizens' problems also stems from a lack of knowledge of the law. This influences the people's feelings.

Dr Z. Nagy: Even the officeholders cannot follow the rules in effect. At most they know where to look. Take labor law. There is an act, then

there is the government's executive order relating to it and then at least 10 ministerial orders and rules, all of them expanded and appended. There are about 3,000 written directives--collective agreements, company presidents' rules--so it is hard to know them all. A president and an officeholder should be familiar with the basic labor law--and not just the company counsel. The cases that come to the Supreme Court show that often there is no violation of the law but only a legal dispute exists--which is an extra bother to the parties and a waste for the state organs....

Dr Gy. Gonda: The trouble is that often we want to fix everything with a new code, even the low cultural level and preparation of the officeholder. Data shows that high-ranking laws do not abound. Parliament created 5 acts in 1975, 7 in 1976, and 6 in 1977. Several of these were discussed on the societal level by the citizens (a good source of higher legal knowledge). In 1975 there were 27 executive orders that carry the force of law; 35 in the next year, and 31 in the last year. In these 3 years there were 225 orders and decisions by the Council of Ministers. However, in the same 3 years there were 747 orders by ministers and 1,507 directives by the ministers. Three-quarters of these touched on several acts: modified, expanded, or invalidated them. The key to legality is /legal/ stability. As a practicing government administrator I think the trouble is with the method of thinking. The last, rude appearance of this bad work style is this code proliferation. The law--I say this without trying to lower its role--has become a little above all in certain places. This leaves less leeway to the client, the citizen, so that he cannot decide on his actions in accord with the natural rules of decency, ethics, and prudence.

Dr I. Markoja: I agree. We cannot forget, however, that significant numbers of the rules in recent years are the result of conscious political moves. We all know that the 10th Party Congress established that we are laying the foundations of socialism and are on the road to build a developed socialist society. This brings with it a further development of our legal system so that it would mirror and serve our developing social relations. I feel that there is an overproduction of legal codes: a bureaucratic attempt exists which wants to solve everything /merely/ by rulemaking.

NEPSZABADSAG: If this is allowed to go unchecked then even the presses will not be able to handle the tremendous load of guidelines and principles emanating from the ministries, of which there are already too many....

Dr I. Markoja: Yes, this is the area where bureaucratic thinking occurs the most. Especially here, a greater vote of confidence could be placed in life and the jurists. Of course this should be done so that no large legal cracks appear. Because it is not good when one can escape from a general rule through a legal loophole.

Once I mention loopholes, I want to remind you that many violations still occur in our country. This warns us to strengthen the criteria in information, law application, and execution. Last year the courts dealt with more

than 97,000 criminal, 170,000 civil, and 19,000 economic and 15,000 labor-law cases. It is true that among the criminal cases there were many traffic cases and many of the civil cases were family law but the number is still high. If we add the mass of rule violations recorded by the councils and the police the picture is even more threatening. We have not yet mentioned the disciplinary cases at the companies, the legal disputes of the citizens that are not litigated. Many of these show deficiencies in education and application of the law.

NEPSZABADSAG: Are numbers the only problem? Is the content of the rules always right? Are there no overlaps, for example? Do they show life as it is?

Dr A. Takacs: As a practicing attorney who has to look among the rules I can tell you that there are many rules which were not thought through well enough. I think this is what causes the many modifications and rewritings. Rule preparation is not always done properly in the ministries.

Dr I. Markoja: There has been a government decree in effect for years that tells the ministries what they have to do when they make new rules. Certain ministries--Interior, Defense, Metallurgical and Machine Industries, Heavy Industry--prepared the order of ministerial orders, ministry legal guidelines, and rules accordingly. Justice, along with other ministries, examined those earlier orders and regulations that are still in effect and published them all. Most ministries prepared a plan for the reconstruction of their rulings; these determine the legal work of updating and simplification in the years ahead.

NEPSZABADSAG: The law is effective only when it is obeyed. It is often asked: What is the sense of making a law that has no sanctions? Here is the latest: the Act for Domestic Trade. It has no sanctions at all.

Dr Gy. Gonda: But of course it has. Violation of the duties embodied in this act carries state, civil, financial, labor, and criminal penalties. One does not necessarily have to put sanctions to /each/ act--only where the existing ones are inadequate.

Dr A. Takacs: Sanctions are basic parts of acts but they are not the only thing that influence people. General social knowledge and social ethics spur us on to increased responsibility and to obey the law. This responsiveness can be formed by education and shaping of awareness which are more important forces in many people than penalty functions. I give you an example: Why do 99 percent of the people not touch the milk in front of the market even though the opportunity is there. Because their moral sense is developed.

NEPSZABADSAG: The Week of the Hungarian Language closed recently. The present state of legal language probably influences the general knowledge of the law. Some codes are hard to understand even by the experts. Why can a linguist not participate in the drafting of the codes?



Dr I. Markoja: He participates. It is now an unwritten law for us (Justice). We also coordinate the higher-level codes. Each draft is seen by a linguist. Alas, it does not happen with all the rules--but this can be seen often in the products....

Dr Z. Nagy: It would not hurt if jurists knew the Hungarian language better. Many a client does not even understand what his own brief says. Sometimes he does not even understand in the courtroom what his defender says on his behalf. Some of the forms are also obsolete: They use old expressions which contain language that produces shivers in the citizen. Alas, we inherited this and the young jurists learn it from us. This mystifies and obscures matters.

Dr Gy. Gonda: In the old era the practice was--or so I hear--that the draft of every law was shown to a layman. Only if he understood it was the rule published.

Dr I. Markoja: We do not speak very nicely, either. To return to the original subject, the flood of codes: Last year the government reviewed the 5-year program of codification and the work that is proceeding on the review of the rules which are in effect and found early progress. The health insurance or defense laws are already revised. They were updated and simplified. Interior connected the code revision to a simplification of procedures in several areas for the citizens' benefit. Thus, the government decision is being implemented but there is much to be done yet to eliminate complexity and end the proliferation of rules.

Dr Gy. Gonda: This is not all that needs to be done. We also have to fight the attitude, thinking, and style that is behind this phenomenon. Because if we do not pay attention to those, we will cut the number of rules in vain--they will spontaneously recur, due to underlying thinking.

NEPSZABADSAG: The lawyer has a special role in legal information. Most of the time people turn to him for advice--which is given because this is his job. But there is some evidence that at times this legal aid is incomplete. At other times it is mechanical only even though the citizen, ignorant in the law, needs his advice badly.

Dr A. Takacs: I do not say everything is fine--there are all kinds of lawyers. But I can say with good conscience that especially in the case of young lawyers there is a vigorous tendency to represent the interest of the client and give all the related legal information.

NEPSZABADSAG: This is fine. It appears that there is a need to extend legal knowledge and solidify legality further. All should participate: those who draft the law, those who carry it out and those who are affected by it in their lives and jobs. Because law writing, execution, and information are all pillars of socialist legality which is an important factor in our state, society, and life.

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Dr Gyorgy Gonda    Dr Imre Markoja    Dr Zoltan Nagy    Dr Adam Takacs    Laszlo Szabo

## HUNGARY

### NEMETH VIEWED AS PRAGMATIC HEIR-APPARENT TO KADAR

Bonn DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 12 May 78 p 6

[Text] The Hungarians may breathe a sigh of relief, because it is now a matter of record: Karoly Nemeth has been designated heir-apparent to 66-year-old CP chief Janos Kadar. And this Nemeth has the reputation of being a pragmatist, a man of the ideological center, that is a man with qualities similar to those of Kadar himself.

The intimation was provided by the 2-day Plenum of the Central Committee, held in late April. The "regrouping of cadres" decided upon by that Plenum ended with a real sensation: Central Committee Secretary Bela Biszku found himself sidelined in the Budapest manner. Though only 57, he was given the Order of Merit of the Hungarian People's Republic and dismissed to retirement.

The play for Kadar's succession was decided with the departure of the rigid doctrinaire Biszku who, from 1957-1961, held the post of Minister of the Interior and managed the "destruction of the counterrevolution." Now Karoly Nemeth is the undisputed No 2 in the party. Only a most unlikely veto by the Kremlin could prevent his eventual rise to No 1.

The majority of Hungarians consider Nemeth's choice a happy move by Kadar. That is because Nemeth has one spectacular quality which makes him highly attractive: Nothing spectacular can possibly be said of him.

#### Exemplary Career

Nemeth, 56, looks like many a Budapest resident of rural origins: Powerful, quiet and upright. No trace of intellectual effervescence or big city elegance. Just under 1.70 meters, Nemeth forces his broad shoulders into jackets which are always a trace too tight, a trifle old-fashioned. The muscled body, accustomed to manual labor in youth, has added some flab behind the desk. The friendly face with the bushy dark eyebrows lights up only in one-to-one conversation.

Born in 1922, the son of a farm worker in Zala Komitat, Nemeth demonstrates impeccable proletarian antecedents. Immediately upon completing grade school he labored in the meat industry. In 1945 the then 23-year old became a party official and has remained so to this day.

His career was equally exemplary, straight like a ruler. No sudden jumps, no sudden descents, no to and fro between Stalinism and tolerance, between centralism and emphasis on the periphery. Amidst the turbulent post-war Hungarian CP Nemeth always knew exactly what he wanted and, more important yet, exactly what he did not want--that is ideological extremes, spontaneous and ad hoc decisions, witty posturing or vicious backbiting.

Right or left deviations are equally suspect to his mind. He introduced many noncommunists to high economic office. He also steadily warned of the dangers of hectoring or even jailing obstreperous citizens. At the same time, though, he championed consistent education of the people in communist doctrine, increased work discipline and the CP's indisputable claim to leadership of Hungarian society.

#### No Rhetoric

Nemeth's greatest asset is his accurate knowledge of the party apparatus from virtually every aspect. He began as village secretary and was later--after courses at the party college--first secretary of Csongrad Komitat. In the 1956 revolution he was realist enough to straightaway bet on the right horse: The Soviet tanks. As was to be expected, his subsequent rise was rapid. In 1957 the man from the provinces became a member of the Central Committee, in 1960 head of the agricultural department there, 1962 one of the Central Committee secretaries, 1965 head of the party in Budapest; in 1970 he became a member of the Politburo. In 1974, lastly he took over all the jobs which Hungarian economic reformer Nyers--an economist of undisputed world renown--had to relinquish upon Kremlin pressure.

Nemeth's second greatest asset is his unemotional commonsense which breeds neither confidants nor enemies. There is nothing of the demagogue about him. His rare speeches are distinguished by a plethora of facts and the total absence of rhetoric. His third asset is his knowledge of economic interrelations. It may justly be expected that Nemeth will try to continue Kadar's achievement of a balanced modus vivendi between party and population. For the time being the Hungarians need not fear for their goulash communism.

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HUNGARY

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE CONSIDERS DEFENSE RELATED ISSUES

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 May 78 p 5

[Unsigned article: "The National Defense Committee of the National Assembly Held a Session--Youth--National Defense--Military Service"]

[Text] To prepare youth for military service and to care for them during their time of service--this was the motto of the National Assembly's National Defense Committee's session held in Veszprem on Monday. Because care begins not on the day of enlistment but in the schoolroom. A young man must be taught his obligation toward the homeland when he is being shaped, states our national defense law passed in 1976. Lt Istvan Olah, deputy national defense minister and chief of staff of the Hungarian People's Armed Forces, informed the committee's members about some of the principles of this law and about its application in practice. Among other things, he said: Military preparation has become richer and more useful, training is more successful, standards are higher. The tasks of state organs have been developed in connection with armed national defense. Our armed forces are accepting increasing shares in carrying out the tasks of the people's economy and at the same time they are also doing their share in the education of our youth.

Youth became the main topic of the session held under the chairmanship of Janos Pap. It is publicly known that the teaching of national defense knowledge has been given space in the material taught in school, for the purpose of aiding in the education of youth for steadfastness, self-sacrifice, and to prepare the future young soldiers for military tasks. Experience shows that this practice has worked out well, the new age groups are significantly more successful with the initial difficulties of training.

Obviously those youths who do not participate in secondary and higher level education are not left out of national defense training either. According to the national defense law they receive preliminary training within the MHSZ [Hungarian National Defense Association] courses. They acquire knowledge here which makes the military service years easier for them and often also awakens in them love of the profession. For example, each year about 10,000 young people earn professional motor vehicle operator's licenses in the MHSZ clubs. Young people reaching the age of military obligation are

followed with increased attention. Everyone is ordered to take a thorough medical examination and those about whom suitability can be decided only on the basis of a specialist's examination receive special supervision. The National Defense Committee's members were able to witness the conscription at the Veszprem megye armed forces supplementation and area defense headquarters, and could see for themselves that the health and physical condition of 18-year-old youths is satisfactory, more than 92 percent of them are suitable for military service.

The armed forces put the young people under the magnifying glass also with the eyes of educators. The local councils are informed about those with military obligation who for some reason did not complete elementary school. They have to be cared for within the framework of adult education. But there is opportunity in the armed forces to complete the 7th and 8th grades as well. Since the national defense law was passed, about 6,000 people have completed their studies this way. It is in the soldier's interest as well as society's that he should complete his military obligation at as early an age as possible. But this effort is influenced by the development of the demographic situation. We are in a "wave" now when the number of those with military obligation is relatively low. Therefore the average age of draftees has increased somewhat; there are many young married men with families in the armed forces. There are several types of efforts to ease our problems. Information is obtained in advance about the social situation of their families. They receive several kinds of benefits when entering service as well as during their time of service. Married people with military obligation, and those with families, whenever possible, are assigned to formations near their homes, often to construction or technical units, in order to also help in this way the situation of those left at home.

In the last 5 to 10 years many things have also changed in the direct care of soldiers. In the majority of barracks mess is self-service, the young soldiers may select from several menus, their menus are carefully planned. Their clothing is adjusted to the seasons; they may spend their hours of rest in sport clothes. The huge sleeping rooms, which at one time provided shelter for as many as over a hundred men, have been eliminated--partly through remodeling. In the new barracks buildings there are at the most 10 to 14 in a room.

The armed forces also provide an appreciable share of the young people with a trade. They can receive training in about 20 military "occupations" which they also can use in civilian life; besides the motor vehicle driver qualification already mentioned, they can also become heavy equipment operators, communication specialists, electricians, technicians, locator [radar--?] operators.

Next the National Defense Committee inspected the work of the megye's draft committee.

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CSO: 2500

LENGTHY DEBATE ON PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION SUMMARIZED

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 15 Apr 78 pp 5, 6

[Interview with Mihaly Kornidesz, chief of the Department of Scientific, Public Education, and Cultural Affairs, MSZMP Central Committee, by Gyorgy Szaraz: "Teaching"; no date given]

[Text] We began our debate about the questions of teaching and education in our 29 October 1977 issue. In the polemics which continued for 5 months, representatives of the most diverse strata spoke up: elementary, trade school and high school teachers, principals and youth without qualification, librarians, students, college students and skilled workers, writers and theater people, doctors, university lecturers, technical people. We preferred to confront opinions, views, attempting to avoid the usual extra battles within the debates. Not the least of our intentions was to help discover the strata of public thinking related to teaching and education. In our opinion, now--considering the teaching plan reforms soon to be introduced--it will better aid to inform our readers if we do not take it upon ourselves to conclude the debate. Therefore we asked Mihaly Kornidesz, chief of the Department of Scientific, Public Education, and Cultural Affairs of the MSZMP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] Central Committee to evaluate the polemics in a conversation with the author of the article which initiated the debate: with Gyorgy Szaraz, and to take a position in the more important questions mentioned.

Shall We Debate?

[Question] "Semper disputare?" Always to debate?--wrote a bit ironically the authors of one of the articles in the teaching debate. Really: does not this much debate about the questions of teaching and public education seem boring, or even uncomfortable?

[Answer] In some places, on some occasions the educators may really feel that some kind of permanent excited atmosphere and lack of confidence also go together with the debates and this represents a special "psychological" burden beyond the already increased responsibilities and tasks. But we must know that the debate on educational affairs is not only a Hungarian

phenomenon; our press debates signal increased social attention to educational matters and exemplify the public morale, the good social atmosphere. It is not necessary to "save" the debates, and not worth it either. Good debate shapes our ideas, helps carry out the MSZMP Central Committee's 1972 resolution and prepares our decisions. But sooner or later decisions have to be made, and this requires comparison of the opinions, decisiveness of the evaluation, recognition of the objective situation. And we can consider polemics productive only if they help and do not hinder action. Of course it is also a condition for this--from another side--that if it is discovered that a missed, incorrect decision has been made, we should not be embarrassed later to modify or correct it. Debating about school, such "outside of school" viewpoints come necessarily into the forefront of the exchange of ideas which touch upon the key questions, characteristics, new type contradictions and future of the growth of socialist society. The situation of social classes and strata in education, the problems of social mobility, the roles of individuality and education, the cultural revolution's and socialist democracy's development based on each other: all are "topics" which increasingly closely touch the questions of education. This interconnection lends special reception, justifiably great attention to the various debates about school matters. But at the same time it also means that education's "internal," so-called professional dilemmas can also be validly posed and answered only from this perspective, from this system of interrelationships.

[Question] Was the teaching debate useful in this sense?

[Answer] The debate was useful, and it has also exemplified its several-leveled and at times even the extreme nature. It came to light among other things that the concept formed about schools, evaluation of the role and opportunities of the school are still full of contradictions. The moral to be concluded: we must work more and better than before in order to actively inform the public, and to win the understanding of the educators. Just like most debates, this too has numerous specific benefits: very many suggestions, words of criticism can be translated immediately into practice. Let me refer, for example, to the criticism of the textbooks of secondary school economics trade schools. I could also mention many comments which coincide with our plans, practical efforts.

#### School In Society, Society In School

[Question] Is school a closed world, "castle," "microsociety" within the "society at large" surrounding it, or is it an organic, live part of the latter? In plain language: should it be closed or open towards the world surrounding it?

[Answer] No matter how independent an organization school is, it never was, and cannot be independent of society. It can increasingly expect and build on the positive effects of our society. But regressive effects also affect it. Today our teachers, through strenuous work taxing their



energies, still often have to neutralize the effects of undesirable phenomena foreign to society but surfacing at times due to its temporary character. They are forced to battle, for example, with views belittling knowledge and the idea of learning. It is practically a commonplace today that awakening the need for knowledge, the transfer of educational material, is not solely a school matter but a task of the entire society. At the same time, school also has an important role in shaping society; it must decrease the inequalities, improve the educational opportunities, serve healthy social mobility.

[Question] Does the school receive enough assistance to "open the gate"?

[Answer] I agree with that requirement voiced during the debate that the school should feel and make felt the realities surrounding us better than it did before. At the same time we must expect that this realization has limits as well as opportunities. True, the school educates for the future, but it does so today, amid today's given social conditions. It cannot be held accountable for all those things which our conditions of today do not yet make possible! The bulk of our contradictions can be resolved only by society's joint action. We see and feel the increasing role of family, places of work, the press, radio and tv, of book publishing, movies and also of the theater.

Large Educational Operation Or Personality-"Production"?

[Question] Can personalities be "produced" in the schools? Or is the greying of teaching and education really a necessary accompaniment to the large-scale school operation serving to elevate the masses?

[Answer] Such problem areas, which also occupied much space in the debate, follow from our efforts directed at full democratization of culture--to teach, educate the great masses with increasingly better results--as the situation of modern educational work, of individuality in mass education. One of the very important observations of the article starting the debate was the loosening of the relationship between students and teachers. I think this caused not only us to wonder but also those who spoke up during the debate and the paper's teacher and nonteacher reader camps. I don't want to make it prettier, I say this from real experience: yet today there are fewer and fewer of those teachers who order the child to a distance of three steps from himself, but there are more and more of those educators who live and work together with their pupils. But we would like the good relationship between the student and his teacher not to be exceptional but general.

Disadvantageous Situation--Equality--Dynasties

[Question] There were those who commented that the "disadvantageous situation" is in reality just a sort of fashionable concept. But according to the majority's opinion exactly this--and the regeneration of this--is

one of the most urgent questions which really transcends the framework of public education.

[Answer] This is one of the critical questions of our educational policy. The only way we can give the correct answer is if we approach it from the direction of broader social correlations. Creation of legal equality does not yet mean real equality in education. Many kinds of contradictions still characterize our society, among them, inherited ones and regenerating ones. We must deal with this even if the basic tendency, the characteristic process of socialist development is to strengthen social equality, to equalize the differences. So for legal equality in schooling to be coupled with real equality of opportunities, the most important task is to carry out the political, economic, social, ideological and cultural goals outlined in the party's program declaration. In creating more equal conditions of schooling we have already made historical results. It proves, for example, that 95 percent of those completing their elementary education go on for further studies; more than 80 percent of the children get to the elementary schools from kindergartens. At the same time, it also does happen that we cannot even use our existing opportunities well. Empty places can be found in colleges because we do not take enough care to convince the parents to let their children go into the new environment. We can create more equal conditions only in the long run, gradually and battling new oppositions. The again increasing demographic wave is a pleasing fact on the basis of our overall society's interests. At the same time this increases problems in the kindergartens and schools. We are also glad that hundreds of thousands are able to get self-contained housing in the new residential developments, but children moving here often find themselves under more crowded, worse school conditions than before. Sometimes the situation is similar in drawing district lines; here we also have to deal with the problems of the village left without a school. The school, even though it is making efforts, is not yet able to counterbalance all disadvantages and cannot yet adequately help all talents. It would be a mistake to consider improvement of educational conditions as a process automatically following economic growth. And it is as erroneous and damaging to underestimate the upward-striving role of educational tools to equalize opportunities, absolutizing these would be just as much a mistake. It is society's interest that more and more people should approach and reach the upper limits of their capabilities. In the interest of this differentiated work, better assistance to those who fall behind, who progress more slowly is needed. We must live with the economic, cultural, educational opportunities, and wherever necessary, with the social tools also.

[Question] Is it possible, that--as one of our letter writers noted--the system of higher education should be based on the "elite" which starts out from a nondisadvantaged situation, on sort of intellectual "dynasties," because it would pay higher dividends to the people's economy and for the entire society?

[Answer] We do not approve that the parent's occupation rather than the student's ability, suitability should be decisive in selecting a career.

If the child of a doctor's family shows talent and strong calling for a medical career, we wish him to succeed in reaching his goal. But he should not be a doctor just because it is a tradition in his family.

#### Educational Ideal--Educational Content--Teaching Material

[Question] Lexical store of knowledge or independent gaining of information; complexity, integration--perhaps it is sufficient just to list the debate's key words which fit here... But the question can be put also more simply: what should the contents of our education be like?

[Answer] Today's school should endeavor primarily not to engrave lexical data into the memory but to teach thinking, methods of independent obtaining of information. But together with this we profess also that without data, clear concepts and solid knowledge one cannot be taught to think.

[Question] Is that the oft-mentioned "half-life"?

[Answer] The view is misleading which wants to extend the half-life of gaining scientific information with general validity also to cover the material of knowledge and information to be taught in school. What is valid for rapidly expanding special sciences is not valid for our basic knowledge! There is generally necessary information, and there also are classical cultural values. These did not and do not lose their value. True, it is easier to define those items of knowledge which must be included in the material taught than those which have to be left out. It is difficult to give up something on which generations were brought up, even if we understand and know that space must be made for the new. Those who prepare the teaching plans and textbooks must also consider the children's capacity to absorb.

We must permanently give up the illusion that the school should teach everything, provide a completed, "ready" knowledge. Therefore the limits must be drawn with decisiveness, what is dispensable, what can also be learned in other ways, must be left out. And for what is necessarily left out of the sphere of knowledge furnished by the school not to become lost values, it is also a prerequisite that the school should create firm foundations, make the young people open, receptive to absorb values. Concern for cultural values, the intention for as complete transmittal of scientific information as possible radiates from most comments of the debate. This is a natural thing, and we would have to grieve if professional indifference and social disinterest surrounded the renewal of material taught in the school. Fortunately, it is not that way. The very suggestions and criticisms of professional opinions and scientific forums saved the plan's preparers from some errors and also urged them to make corrections. It was found, for example, that Csokonai [poet] must not be left out of the basic material of literature taught in the elementary schools. Modification of the class plans took place during the debate, and the present debate also reinforced among other things the necessity of making the teaching of history more effective. Our experiences coincide with this.

[Question] This was precisely one of the basic questions of the debate: "humanistics or realistics"? How can the ever-increasing need for greater general education be coordinated with the demands for higher and higher special training?

[Answer] Only those can live and work as socialist people who are able to keep themselves informed about the world's complicated affairs, who are open to the beautiful and good yet at the same time stand their ground in their professions also. We would like that the culture of these two sides would not stand in opposition to each other in our concepts and to those of future man, but that they would live harmoniously together in it. The so-called humanistic subjects have an indispensable role in education. The power of language, literature, arts, and history which shape man cannot be replaced by anything else. And obviously how much time we spend teaching these subjects is also important. But we must at any cost refute that one-sided view which measures the value of these subjects exclusively by the number of hours [devoted to] humanistic knowledge.

[Question] Teaching plan reforms are unavoidable, this is obvious. We also understand that not everything can be crowded into the schools' teaching material. But many of our readers are concerned about the decline of standards, the loosening of requirements. Is this justified?

[Answer] The present teaching plan reform has another goal besides rejuvenation of the materials taught. Perhaps we spoke less about this than we should have. From the reform we expect first of all the improvement of school work in education as well as in teaching. Good teaching plans and educational documents represent only part of the conditions. Demanding--in some cases more demanding than before--educational work is required as well as school spirit which better strengthens academic discipline. Loosening of this discipline can be felt especially in the secondary schools. Many teachers taking their students through high school graduation complained that lack of the quality of being demanding on the part of the students, the "minimum outlook" has become an unpleasant fashion; even students preparing to go on to further studies are concentrating only on entrance examination subjects. This causes concern, as this endangers the students' many-sided openness exactly at the time most suitable for synthesis of the social phenomena. The battle against unhealthy overburdening has at some places swung to the opposite extreme, and there have been instances where the stamp of conservatism was applied to demanding teachers requiring knowledge in accordance with performance ability. In such places the rank of learning, of establishing requirements must be unconditionally reestablished. Let there be no misunderstanding: not the rightful demand to decrease overburdening but the unjustified, liberal establishing of requirements must be forced to back down.

#### About Teachers

[Question] Obviously the teacher is the decisive factor in socialist education. It is understandable that his person, the social rank of his profession and mainly the question of replacements stood in the debate's focus.

[Answer] It is said from time to time that the teaching profession has lost some of its prestige, attraction, not always the ones with the most ability come here, and many have left the profession. The "good old teachers" are often and the "knowledgeable teachers" are often recalled. I think time and distance beautify the memories. Let us admit honestly: there were good and also less good teachers in the old times, too, just like today. In the old times there were mostly just two opportunities for a child with poor background and good abilities: he could be either a priest or a teacher. But today's youth with a gift for intellectual professions can choose from innumerable professions. We must not grieve over this, if for no other reason than because today the colleges and universities which train teachers can pick and choose among gifted youth suitable for this profession. It is true that many leave the profession but the majority of these find posts where their professional training is also needed. Today the cultural base outside the schools is huge. This requires suitable educators for the institutions of science, public education and mass communication, and for the various posts of the state and social organizations. Undoubtedly it is very useful for a school if a scientist-teacher or two also work in its body of educators, but the social profit of it is perhaps even greater if these teachers are employed by colleges, universities and scientific institutions offering them the best opportunities for research work. All this does not mean that there is nothing for us to do in improving the prestige of the teaching profession, the working conditions of teachers, the organization and standards of training and advanced training of teachers. On the contrary! Exactly the changed social circumstances, the many levels of tasks falling on the teachers make more proportional sharing of the work within the school and in social tasks indispensable, freeing the teacher from all those burdens which are unnecessary from the viewpoint of teaching and educational work. No less important is greater assistance for continuous advanced training and for improving his working conditions in the school. Meanwhile we must increase the independence of teachers, greater freedom must be provided for the realization of their methods and educational ideas.

It is our prime interest to increase the participation and voice of teachers in school affairs. By this we liberate much creative force and energy with know-how, and on the other hand this is the only way the school can become the practice area of community life, of socialist democracy also for our youth. I am convinced that the general good feeling, the confidence which provides the ground for our initiatives, will provide generous dividends in every-day work.

[Question] There are many teachers without qualification, and this is disturbing. Many have brought up the shortcomings of planning, the lack of foresight.

[Answer] We can indeed mention the shortcomings, inaccuracies of planning as one of the reasons for our tensions today. And even though we have been gradually increasing employment in recent years--in some institutions to several times that of the earlier--and also established new colleges,

still we cannot say that we have taken everything into consideration. Today, for example, there are almost as many teachers on maternity and child care leave as there are teaching without certification. This, and also the earlier-mentioned syphoning-off effect should be taken into better consideration in planning. But planning the conditions and operation of the educational system--mainly for the longer range--is an extremely complicated task. We are dealing not simply "only" with the planning of teaching: the effects the social processes, changes, tendencies exert on the schools must be dealt with in advance. Even though we are consciously shaping these tendencies, numerous objective factors influence their rate, acceleration and slowdown. Thus, for example, we did not expect so much moving by the people, on the contrary we expected it to slow down under the influence of the decentralization of economic activity, vigorous establishment of industry in the districts and other regional development reasons. Still the extremely uneven loading of educational institutions became one of our main concerns, due to the depopulation of some areas and the rapid population increase of others, mainly of the economic centers. Of course this area of questions has many other components--such as the unevenly burdening effect of the upward swinging demographic wave--and when we speak of the shortage of teachers or classrooms, a great many reasons must be analyzed together.

[Question] With what can we close the conversation?

[Answer] Some 15 to 20 years ago one of our biggest problems was to involve people, make them interested--not just as parents, those who are in close contact with the school--but as citizens, responsibly thinking builders of the new society, in the problems of renewing the socialist school. And today there is no educational or pedagogic debate which does not witness that society has made this effort its own. The teaching debate was conducted about the school, its links to society and the situation of teachers, as was this conversation. We know that the thoughts of the debaters were dictated by the responsibility they feel toward our children and for the future. We can only thank them for this help.

8584  
CSO: 2500

MILITARY HOSPITAL'S RESPONSE TO MASS CASUALTY EVENT DESCRIBED

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 7 May 78 p 3

[Article by Maria Lukacs: "Chronicle About Carrying a Double Load--Accident Surgeons In the Military Hospital"]

[Text] The chroniclers were a little bit unfair. Even though there was no shortage of compliments. The already publicly known evacuation of the National Institute of Traumatology [OTrI], then the following reorganization justly placed the work of those who heal accident victims into the center of attention. Only the distribution of compliments proved to be out of proportion. Radio, television, the daily and weekly papers endeavored to illustrate the self-sacrificing, exhausting, yet tireless battle of the various traumatological departments for the injured.

But the chronicle did not mention those onto whom the reorganization pushed the greatest excess burden. Who--a mere 5 percent of the capital city's traumatological staff--during the 4 months which were originally planned to be 3 months, had to take care of 30 percent of Budapest's injured. And who received the injured not only on the days of Monday and Thursday assigned to them, but--in case of need--received them every hour of every day, because soldiers must be treated even outside of office hours.

Two "Sharp" Shifts Per Week

We are talking about the accident surgeons of the Central Military Hospital [KHK] and their helpmates. They agreed to serve one more day besides the regular weekly "sharp" duty on Mondays, in the interest of those who suffered accidents.

This pledge can be called grandiose on their part at most. Because from the viewpoint of healing, from the viewpoint of the recovery of the injured it was necessary. The last 4 months amply proved this.

"The disciplined, well-organized work of the traumatology department by itself would be insufficient for this," opines Dr Zoltan Zaborszky, chief physician of the accident surgery department modestly, almost impersonally.

"The help of the associate departments was also needed in order to be able to 'process' the sick material between the two shifts. Urology, neurosurgery, laryngology, eye surgery, mouth surgery, x-ray, the laboratory, that is, all departments helped.

"Without this it would have been a physical impossibility to fulfill the requirements created by the two shifts of duty per week. It still did not make the work of traumatologists significantly easier."

"The responsibility was primarily ours. We also served at the same time as 'delivery service' between the departments operating in the various pavillions."

It was an eventful time period. The ambulances brought in 60 to 80 injured on each day of service, with critical, serious or light wounds.

To Act--Immediately

In general the doctor's work is never easy. But--let the uninitiated be permitted to make the comparison--perhaps still it is the most difficult here. And yet, here also one must act with a cool head. Order of importance must be set up, who should be operated on first, and which of his wounds.

"Obviously the maintenance of life functions is first. To gain time for life," Chief Surgeon Zaborszky explains.

If a man is brought in "in a bag" (or as the traumatologists say: quartered), even the nurse does not turn pale. Nurse, operating room assistant, everyone knows his or her job and does what is necessary.

What is necessary? "The flag is entrusted to your honor." Behold, the first military admonition. But they themselves interpret this flag much more broadly.

What was the most difficult thing in these 4 months just barely past? The doubled "sharp" (admission) service?

"No. That could be tolerated," says Dr Kalman Piros, deputy chief surgeon, whose calm is unshakeable. (He was the watch chief on the day of the tragic accident on Boraros Square; he directed the saving of the eight victims in shock and in danger of life.) "Only it was depressing that even during Monday's shift we wondered how we could make enough room in 2 days for the next ones, for Thursday's patients... We suffered physically, and also mentally, that perhaps we sent home as many as we could a little earlier [than we should have]."

"Those who had a place to go," interrupts Dr Laszlo Gavaller, "Because the elderly person with a broken thighbone was not always awaited with open arms, and often there was no one to care for him."



(The outsider would be thoroughly surprised to see the many old women in the military hospital's wardrooms. But there is nothing unusual in this in accident surgery. So it is not unusual here either.)

"The unusual thing was," fortunately Dr Piro's can now make this comment in the past tense, "that we had less opportunity for some good words. To talk with the patients, get to know them. Always-always we just operated."

"The patient came in and immediately we took him to the operating room," Dr Gavaller continues, "But this is actually always so. Often we are forced to omit even minimal examination because every minute is costly."

#### Operation "In Blind Flight"

In the general surgery department everything possible is known about the patient before he goes on the operating table. Traumatology receives an unconscious body instead of an examined patient. The medical history is not known, nothing is even surmised about his medical history, only that he must be saved. He is facing an equation with many unknowns, begins to operate almost "flying blind."

"And the operation succeeds. Because what is humanly, medically possible," they say this simply, without any dramatics, "we do."

"They do even more than that,"--muses Chief Surgeon Zaborszky. "I cannot imagine a task the traumatologist would not do."

Would this be an exaggeration? Four months' experience proves that it is not.

The Central Military Hospital's accident surgery and the associate departments accepted 30 percent of the workload of the capital city's traumatologists, of the National Institute of Traumatology which is temporarily out of commission.

It can be attributed to the hospital's "hinterland," to their discipline, their--if you like--being under siege, that in these 4 months they were able to treat 74 percent more injured people than last year.

Among other things, the chronicle owed it to the truth to disclose these facts.

8584  
CSO: 2500

'DIE WELT' REPORTS ON CURRENT POLISH CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

Bonn DIE WELT in German 1-2 Apr 78 p 5

[Article by Renate Marsch: "The Polish Church Is Disappointed Over Church-State Relations"]

[Text] Church circles in Poland have been observing the government's and party's attitudes in the last few months with disappointment. Warsaw has indeed "acknowledged with satisfaction" Cardinal Wyszynski's offer of a joint effort by church and state for moral renewal of the nation. But nothing has been done about the Polish primate's requests.

The church's concrete desires include granting it public-legal status, a larger share in the education of youth, access to mass media, freedom for an authentic Catholic press, as well as the opportunity to publish its own books. In the past weeks and months no progress has been made in negotiations on these questions or in talks over the reestablishment of Church organizations.

The government apparently would prefer to limit the church's pulpits and catechism classes still further. The church however needs a broad sphere of activity to achieve its moral mission. This is how the Catholic Church, which is still very influential in Poland, interprets the fundamental article which Mieczyslaw Rakowski, the editor-in-chief of the weekly POLITYKA, published in the Easter edition of his paper.

In this article Rakowski advocated a dialogue with the church and assured it that Marxism had long ago departed from radical atheism. He acknowledged to Wyszynski that his sermon on the Epiphany was an interesting and important political document. Many of the cardinal's desires could not be granted, however, because they violated the principle of separation of church and state.

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In the article, which was presumably authorized by someone in very high authority, Rakowski also requests tolerance by the church of other ideologies. Thus the church cannot demand that laws be changed which contradict its religious principles, or demand that state organs see to it that certain church regulations are adhered to. No one in Poland is forced to get a divorce, have an abortion or dance during church fast periods.

Pakowski did not take up the individual requests in Wyszynski's sermon, which was permitted to be published uncensored by the Catholic weekly TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY. Aides to the cardinal explained again and again that the church does not want any political privileges. If it is to be taken on as a partner, however, it cannot legally be left hanging or be treated as a simple association. A simple explanation by the government on the granting of public-legal status would satisfy it.

8537

CSO: 2300

SOCIAL CONTROL COMMITTEE PROPOSAL DRAWS MIXED REACTION

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 April 78 p 2

/Collection of letters from readers, assembled by Ryszarda Kazimierska/

/Text/ Public evaluation of the proposed legislative solutions concerning social control committees has begun.

After the proposed legislation is introduced in the Sejm, two Sejm commissions will examine this document: the commission on Administration, Regional Economy and Environmental Protection and the commission on Legislative Works. At the same time, the voivodship deputy teams will discuss this proposal with voters. The ZYCIE WARSZAWY editorial office invited its readers to join the discussion. On 28 March, we requested that they send us their remarks and suggestions. As usual, the readers did not dissappoint us.

Today we are presenting the first voices in this discussion:

Encourged by the editor's appeal, I would like to express my opinion on this subject. Since I have had a long work and personal experience, I would like to register my own observations. Personally, I do not see any justification for establishing another control unit such as the social control committee because we already have many control units such as NIK (Chief Board of Supervision), PIH (State Institute of Hygiene), store committees, tenant associations which have the right to inspect, the internal control units in enterprises and plants of different departments and outside controls by respective department headquarters. All people's councils commissions have the right and duty to perform controls. The trade unions' commissions are also empowered to perform these controls. Thus, there are already several control units in existence. Let them honestly perform their control duties where it is necessary. In this situation, it seems that creation of social control committees would be redundant; control over control.

People who work in the aforementioned control units should be reliable, tough, worthy of the controller's respectable function and they should strike at evil where necessary. If they are unable to do this, then even the newly established social control committees will not help anything.

It seems to me that all existing control units should be investigated in person. Insufficiently active controllers should be recalled and people with a high citizen's morality should be put in their place.

However, if social control committees are to be established it would be advisable that they include retired people who are physically and mentally capable and who have considerable professional knowledge in various specialties. Ignacy Szemiel from Olsztyn

As a citizen of the People's Republic of Poland, a worker with 25 years of experience in the Polish National Railways, I fully approve the legislative proposal for establishing social control committees to operate in conjunction with the people's councils.

Organs of regional government should strive for a multi-faceted development of the country. The integral nature of social actions based on the Lenin's doctrine "to believe is to control" should be reflected in the coordination and control.

The social control committees should have a legal character. Their members should be recruited from groups well acquainted with the problems entrusted to them and should have considerable knowledge of general issues.

In my opinion, the following matters should be the subject of particular control: the relationship between tenants and owners of private property, management of fuel heating resources, community life standards, the income of private enterprise, social discipline, management of work time and servicing the client in government offices. Danyta Graffunder from Poznan

Does Zycie Warszawy plan to publish the text of the legislative proposal concerning social control? In response to your appeal I would like to express my opinion in this discussion. However, without familiarity with the discussed proposals, one might state the obvious.

My specialization is the quality of goods and services and management of cadres. I personally supervised the units, the control inspectorates and inspectors; and before that I was an auditor. I had also supervised workers who dealt with citizen's complaints. Therefore, I have certain views on the issue of quality of goods and services, on the bad and good aspects of control and on the effectiveness of control in our national economy. Stanislaw Ruchewicz from Olsztyn

The two paragraphs published from the text of the legislative proposal on social control are formulated in a complicated way. They are not very informative. The first one discusses three elements; aid, coordination and action; three different complex problems. The second one discusses the scope of control on the principle of all or nothing. Would not it be better to simply say that the subject of social control is this or that (enumerating subjects in detail or, for example, discussing matters under the people's councils authority according to their importance).

Publishing the entire text would enable us to take a position. Czeslaw Bartoszewski from Warsaw

To the readers: Mr. St Ruchlewicz and Cz. Bartoszewski convinced us about the need to publish the full text of the proposed legislation. We will do it soon in the next few issues of ZYCIE WARSZAWY. Although Mr. I. Szemiel's statement about the multitude of inspectors and inefficiency of their work is a voice against establishing social control committees, it also gives arguments for the proposal; for the legislator's intention was that the social control committees have an influence on improving the effectiveness of existing units of social control through coordinating and giving them direction.

Ryszarda Kazimierska assembled the readers' statements for the press.

8430

CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU MESSAGE TO SOVIET-ROMANIAN SOCIETY ON ANNIVERSARY

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 May 78 p 5 AU

[Text] To the Central Board of the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Society [SRFS]

Dear Comrades,

On the 20th anniversary of the SRFS creation, I extend cordial congratulations and warm, friendly greetings to the society's central board and its activists.

The SRFS, created at the CPSU initiative, has carried out a rich activity in the past 20 years, in the service of strengthening fraternal ties and manifold cooperation between our countries and peoples, thus contributing in specific ways to making known in the USSR the achievements attained by the Romanian people, under the leadership of their Communist Party, in building the new society and promoting a policy of understanding and peaceful cooperation in the international life.

Engaged with all their forces in implementing the party program for building the comprehensively developed socialist society and insuring Romania's progress toward communism, the working people of our fatherland rejoice from the bottom of their hearts in the outstanding achievements of the USSR peoples, headed by communists, in building communism, developing the economy, science and culture and implementing the targets established by the 25th CPSU Congress.

On this Jubilee, I address you dear comrades the warm wish to attain new successes in the activity devoted to the noble cause of strengthening the unflinching traditional friendship and fruitful cooperation between our peoples and countries, to the benefit and in the interest of the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

Long live the Romanian-Soviet fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation!

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES HANOI TEXTILE MILL WORKERS

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 May 78 p 2 AU

[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu on his 25 May visit to the "8 March" Textile Mill in Hanoi]

[Text] Esteemed comrades and friends, I want to thank you for your kind words and for the message addressed to us, to the Romanian workers class and people.

I want to convey to you, to your 6,500-strong collective warm greetings on behalf of ourselves and of the Romanian workers. (applause)

We are very pleased that this wonderful collective of workers is obtaining good results in developing the production capacities, and that during the difficult years of war against the foreign intervention they fulfilled their duties both in production and in defending their fatherland. (applause)

The workers class is indeed the main force of a people, especially of a people who are building the new, socialist society. There is no doubt that strengthening the role of the workers class in the leadership of the society is decisive for insuring progress in the socialist construction.

The Romanian workers class also plays a leading role in all the areas and we are doing everything in our power to insure that the workers participate directly in leading all activities.

The successes that we are obtaining in building socialism are the outcome of the workers class work, and of its close unity with the peasantry, intelligentsia and all the people. On our visit to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, we want to wholeheartedly wish you to strengthen your workers class and its alliance with the peasantry and intellectuals. We wish you success in strengthening the unity of all the people, led by the Communist Party, in building the socialist society. (applause)

I want to wish your 6,500-strong collective ever greater successes in production and in all its activities--and please do not be offended if I express the hope that your work will deserve the "labor order" first class this year. (applause)



I hope that a fruitful cooperation will develop between the Romanian and Vietnamese workers class, between our peoples.(applause)

We will be happy to have a delegation of your enterprise visit enterprises in Romania. (applause)

I wholeheartedly wish you success in all your activities, good health and happiness to all the 6,500 workers of this collective. (applause)

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

FESTIVE MEETING MARKS SOVIET-ROMANIAN SOCIETY'S ANNIVERSARY

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romania 23 May 78 p 5 AU

[Summary] A festive meeting was organized on 22 May in Bucharest by the general council of the Romanian Association for Ties of Friendship With the USSR [ARLUS] and the Bucharest Municipality RCP Committee to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the creation of the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Society [SRFS] among others, the meeting was attended by the following comrades: "Mihai Dalea, candidate member of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP Central Committee and chairman of ARLUS General Council; Dumitru Ghise, member of the RCP Central Committee and vice chairman of the Council for Socialist Culture and Education; Dumitru Turcus, deputy section chief at the RCP Central Committee; Maria Stanescu, deputy minister of education and instruction; and Romus Dima, secretary of Bucharest Municipal Party Committee" as well as by "B. I. Minakov, USSR charge d'affaires ad-interim to Bucharest, and the members of the SRFS delegation." Ion Cumpanasu, general manager of the Romanian Press Agency, AGERPRES, and I. I. Orlik, head of the SRFS delegation visiting our country, spoke about the significance of this anniversary.

A similar festive meeting was held on 22 May, in Moscow, in the presence of the following comrades: "V. I. Konotop, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the SRFS Central Board; V. F. (Khorokhordin), deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations with foreign countries," and other Soviet officials as well as "the ARLUS delegation led by Petru Despot, member of the bureau of the ARLUS General Council, and Ion Mielciouiu, our country's charge d'affaires ad-interim in Moscow." V. I. Konotop and Petru Despot spoke about the significance of this event.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

'AGERPRES' REPORTS 'SCINTEIA' ARTICLE ON RELATIONS WITH DPRK

Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1943 GMT 26 May 78 AU

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 26 May--A lasting fruitful base for the Romanian-Korean multilateral brotherly cooperation.

Under this title, SCINTEIA on 26 May, published an article dedicated to the celebration of 3 years since the signing of the treaty of friendship and collaboration between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, by the two presidents, Nicolae Ceausescu and Kim Il-song.

A fortunate coincidence, notes the central (?organ) of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, the anniversary this year of the signing of this document, occurs only 2 days after the conclusion, with happy results, of the new visit to Pyongyang of President Nicolae Ceausescu. The particularly warm reception made to the distinguished representatives of the Romanian people, the feelings of deep esteem expressed on the occasion of the grandiose meeting of Pyongyang and of the festive manifestation of the youth, and during the whole visit, illustrated eloquently the strength of the Romanian-Korean relations of friendship and solidarity, in whose consolidation the today celebrated treaty played an important part.

Furthermore the Romanian daily writes, among other things:

This document, bearing the signatures of Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Kim Il-song, opened a new chapter, of historical importance, to the relations between the two countries. It expresses the common resolution to deepen and enlarge the cooperation in building socialism, consecrating at the same time the universally valid rules of the interstate relations: respect for the national independence and sovereignty, fully equal rights, non-interference in domestic affairs--which endows it, besides its bilateral importance, with an obvious international significance. Being a real charter of the Romanian-Korean friendship, the treaty also represents a valuable contribution to the strengthening of the unity of the countries building a new world, to the promotion of new democratic relations among all the states of the world, to building a new international political and economic order. Its role was actually revealed during the recent top-level Romanian-Korean dialog, too.

ROMANIA

CHANGE IN REGULATIONS ON USE OF AIR SPACE

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 32, 19 Apr 78 p 4

/Text/ The Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania resolves:

Sole article -- The flight system in the air space of the Socialist Republic of Romania, approved by Council of Ministers Resolution No 793 of 4 July 1974, is supplemented and modified as follows:

1. In Article 7 letter a), a new paragraph, with the following content, is inserted after point 7: "--the border point with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (45 degrees 16 minutes 13 seconds North -- 21 degrees 16 minutes 43 seconds East) - TIMISOARA -ARAD;"
2. Article 10 letter d) is amended and will read as follows: "d) for crossing the state border with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia:  
  
--Corridor No 8 'BAZIAS': coordinat 44 degrees 46 minutes North - 21 degrees 34 minutes East;  
  
--Corridor No 8 A 'MORAVITA': coordinat 45 degrees 16 minutes 13 seconds North - 21 degrees 16 minutes 43 seconds East."

Council of Ministers of the  
Socialist Republic of Romania

Prime minister, Manea Manescu

Bucharest, 12 April 1978

No 65

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

RELEASE OF DEPUTY MINISTER--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ion Bogdan is released from his position as deputy minister of mines, petroleum, and geology. [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 36, 3 May 78 p 4]

OFFICIAL APPOINTMENT --The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Olimpia Solomonescu is appointed chairman of the National Commission on Demography. [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 37, 9 May 78 p 3]

APPOINTMENT, REMOVAL OF OFFICIALS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Stefan Nicolae is relieved of his position as first deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation. Comrade Ion Marin Nicolae is relieved of his position as deputy minister of the chemical industry and appointed first deputy minister of the ministry of foreign trade and international economic cooperation. Comrade Constantin Pestisanu is released from his position as state secretary in the Ministry of Education and Instruction. [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 37, 9 May 78 p 3]

CSO: 2700

OPERATING PROCEDURE OF SFRY ASSEMBLY

Belgrade SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 22, 28 Apr 78 pp 797-820

[Final version of the Operating Procedure of the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia adopted by the Legislative-Legal Commission of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly in its 60th meeting on 19 April 1978 and by the Legislative-Legal Commission of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly in its 57th meeting on 19 April 1978]

[Text] I. Introductory Provisions

Article 1

This operating procedure shall regulate the following:

- a. rules concerning joint proceedings of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly;
- b. rights and duties of delegates and delegations to the SFRY Assembly in the joint proceedings of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly;
- c. the manner of informing delegations of basic self-managed organizations and communities and sociopolitical organizations so that basic positions may be taken and guidelines set forth to govern the work of delegates on matters being deliberated in the SFRY Assembly and so as to inform them about its proceedings;
- d. rights and duties of the president and vice presidents of the SFRY Assembly and the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly;
- e. the establishment, powers and procedure of the joint committees of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly;
- f. procedure to be followed in a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and mutual relations between the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and their cooperation;
- g. types of acts of the SFRY Assembly;

- 
- h. procedure for achieving public scrutiny of the proceedings of the SFRY Assembly;
  - i. use of the spoken and written languages of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia in the proceedings of the SFRY Assembly;
  - j. procedure governing the SFRY Assembly's relations with the SFRY State Presidency;
  - k. procedure for exercising the rights and discharging the duties of the SFRY Assembly toward the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies and federal organizations;
  - l. procedure governing the SFRY Assembly's participation in the proceedings of federal public councils;
  - m. procedure for exercising the rights and discharging the duties of the SFRY Assembly toward the Yugoslav Constitutional Court, the Federal Court, the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office, the federal public defender of self-management law and the Social Accounting Service;
  - n. procedure governing cooperation of the SFRY Assembly with the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces;
  - o. procedure governing cooperation of the SFRY Assembly with sociopolitical and other public organizations and with self-managed organizations and communities at the federal level and with scientific and professional organizations;
  - p. procedure governing cooperation of the SFRY Assembly with representative bodies of other states;
  - q. operating procedure of the SFRY Assembly during a state of war or in case of an immediate danger of war;
  - r. performance of technical and other tasks to meet the needs of the SFRY Assembly.

## Article 2

The proceedings of the SFRY Assembly and of its chambers, as well as of their committees, shall be public.

## Article 3

The official languages for use in the SFRY Assembly shall be the spoken languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia and the corresponding written languages as established by the republic constitutions, and also the spoken and written languages of the ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia in accordance with federal law and the provisions of this operating procedure.

Exercise of the right to use the spoken and written languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia and exercise of the right to use the spoken and written languages of the ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia in conformity with the provisions of this operating procedure shall be guaranteed in the proceedings of the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 4

The SFRY Assembly shall be continuously in session.

The summer recess of the SFRY Assembly shall last from 20 July to 5 September each year.

If a particular need so requires, the president of the SFRY Assembly may convene a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly even during the summer recess, and a chairman of a joint committee of the chambers may convene that body.

If a particular need so requires, the president of a chamber of the SFRY Assembly may convene the chamber even during the summer recess, and the chairman of a committee of the chamber may convene that body.

#### Article 5

The SFRY Assembly shall be represented by the president of the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 6

The SFRY Assembly shall have its seal.

The seal of the SFRY Assembly shall contain the emblem of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia circumscribed by the text "Skupstina Socijalisticke Federativne Republike Jugoslaviije" (Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) in all the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia.

### II. Right and Duties of Delegates and Delegations to the SFRY Assembly in the Joint Proceedings of the Chambers

#### Article 7

The delegate to the SFRY Assembly (hereafter referred to as the "delegate") and the delegation to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces (hereafter referred to as the "delegation") shall in the joint proceedings of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and the joint committees of the chambers have the rights and duties set forth by the SFRY Constitution, by law and by this operating procedure.



## Article 8

The delegate shall have the right and duty to attend the joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and a session of the joint committees of the chambers of which he is a member and to participate in their proceedings and deliberation.

The delegate shall have the right to attend meetings of the joint committees of the chambers even if he is not a member of those bodies and shall have the right to participate in their proceedings, but shall not have the right to vote.

## Article 9

A delegate prevented from attending a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly or a meeting of joint committees of the chambers of which he is a member must so notify the president of the SFRY Assembly or the chairman of the joint committee of the chambers in good time.

## Article 10

The delegate and delegation shall have the right to seek clarifications and information from the president of the SFRY Assembly, the vice presidents of the SFRY Assembly and the chairmen of the joint committees of the chambers concerning matters pertaining to their work in the SFRY Assembly and to the proceedings of the bodies which they chair.

The delegate and delegation shall also have the right to seek clarifications and information from the secretary general of the SFRY Assembly on matters pertaining to his work and to the work of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly.

## Article 11

The delegate shall have the right to be regularly informed concerning all matters under consideration and deliberation in the SFRY Assembly and also concerning other matters he needs to be familiar with in order to perform his function as a delegate, specifically the following:

- i. on matters of domestic and foreign policy;
- ii. on the proceedings of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and of their respective committees and of the joint committees of the chambers;
- iii. concerning the work of the Federal Executive Council;
- iv. concerning the work of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations;

v. concerning implementation of the policy set forth by the SFRY Assembly and concerning the execution of laws, other enactments and general acts of the SFRY Assembly;

vi. concerning the positions and opinions of the federal public councils on matters important to the work of the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 12

So that the information provided is as complete as possible, along with the bills under consideration and deliberation in the SFRY Assembly, the delegates shall also be furnished the following: regular and ad hoc publications concerning procedure of the SFRY Assembly, other official publications of the SFRY Assembly, and other informative and documentary material concerning the matters enumerated in Article 11 of this operating procedure.

Lengthy informative and documentary material delivered to the SFRY Assembly or prepared in the bodies or staff services of the SFRY Assembly shall be delivered to the delegates in abstract form, and the original text of such material shall be made available for examination in the documentation office of the SFRY Assembly and shall be delivered to them at their request. The abstracts must be prepared in such a way that the delegates can obtain from them a familiarization with the principal topics contained in the original material. The abstract must be prepared by the authors of the original material simultaneously with the preparation of that material.

The delegate shall also have the right to examine other informative and documentary material being prepared and gathered in the bodies and staff services of the SFRY Assembly or in federal administrative agencies and federal organizations which gather, record and process statistical and other data concerning the situation in particular domains of social life and which pertain to matters under consideration in the SFRY Assembly. The delegate shall also have the right to seek from the staff services of the SFRY Assembly information concerning particular matters which are on the agenda of meetings of the chambers and committees of which he is a member as well as concerning other matters within the jurisdiction of the chambers or of those committees.

#### Article 13

The president of the SFRY Assembly, the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, the chairmen of the joint committees of the chambers and the chairmen of the committees of the chambers shall state which material being delivered to delegates shall be regarded as a state secret or as confidential.

Material which the Federal Executive Council or other proponent sends to the SFRY Assembly and which that council or proponent has pronounced a state secret or confidential and information which a delegate learns in a

meeting of the bodies of the SFRY Assembly pertaining to an issue taken under consideration in that meeting in closed session shall also be regarded as a state secret or confidential.

The procedure for handling material regarded as a state secret or confidential shall be set forth in a specific regulation issued by the president of the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 14

The delegate shall be accountable for violation of the duty to preserve a state secret and confidential data.

#### Article 15

The staff services of the SFRY Assembly have a duty within the scope of their activity to safeguard material and to make it available to delegates and delegations, to extend them technical aid in drafting bills, other regulations and general acts and other of their proposals, and they shall also see to ensuring the technical and other conditions for performance of their function.

#### Article 16

The library and documentation office of the SFRY Assembly shall be at the service of the delegates.

#### Article 17

Every delegation and all delegates shall be ensured conditions for their work in the SFRY Assembly.

Delegates shall be provided in the SFRY Assembly space for holding meetings and conversations with members of delegations of basic self-managed organizations and communities and of sociopolitical organizations as well as with working people and citizens.

#### Article 18

Delegates to the SFRY Assembly may establish a Delegates' Club.

In the Delegates' Club delegates shall discuss matters of common interest which have a bearing on their work and the proceedings of the chambers and the SFRY Assembly, shall inform themselves and shall exchange opinions on particular issues of the country's domestic and foreign policy and also concerning other questions which have been raised by the delegates in the Delegates' Club or which have been raised by the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia.

#### Article 19

The organization, tasks and procedure of the Delegates' Club shall be regulated by the bylaws of the club.

Conditions for the work of the Delegates' Club shall be furnished in the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 20

Delegates to the SFRY Assembly may establish the Yugoslav Group of the Interparliamentary Union on the principle of voluntary membership.

The Yugoslav Group of the Interparliamentary Union shall participate in the work of the Interparliamentary Union, shall inform the chambers of the SFRY Assembly concerning decisions of the Interparliamentary Union, shall submit relevant proposals to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, and shall carry on cooperation with national groups of representative bodies of other states.

#### Article 21

The Yugoslav Group of the Interparliamentary Union shall adopt its bylaws so as to regulate its organization and tasks and procedure governing its work.

Conditions for the work of the Yugoslav Group of the Interparliamentary Union shall be furnished in the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 22

The delegates shall perform their function as a public function.

Under the conditions set forth in specific regulations the delegates shall be entitled to compensation for personal income and expenses.

#### Article 23

Credentials shall be issued to delegates.

The credentials shall among other things state the right of immunity and other rights which the delegate may exercise on the basis of the credentials.

The secretary general of the SFRY Assembly shall see to the issuance of credentials and to the keeping of records concerning credentials issued.

The president of the SFRY Assembly shall issue more detailed regulations concerning the content, form and manner of issuance of credentials and concerning the keeping of records on credentials issued.

### III. Informing Delegations of Basic Self-Managed Organizations and Communities and Sociopolitical Organizations on Matters Being Deliberated in the SFRY Assembly and Concerning Its Proceedings

#### Article 24

So as to create conditions for the delegations of basic self-managed organizations and the working people and citizens in those organizations and communities to directly exercise their rights and discharge their duties in performance of the functions of the SFRY Assembly and so that the delegations adopt their basic positions and share in adoption of guidelines to govern the work of delegates and delegations in the SFRY Assembly provision shall be made to inform the delegations of basic self-managed organizations and communities and of sociopolitical organizations concerning all matters being deliberated in the SFRY Assembly and concerning the proceedings of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, their respective committees and the joint committees of the chambers.

#### Article 25

The SFRY Assembly shall inform delegations of basic self-managed organizations and communities and of sociopolitical organizations concerning matters being deliberated in the SFRY Assembly and concerning its proceedings through the gazette of the SFRY Assembly, which shall be official and public in nature.

The gazette of the SFRY Assembly (hereafter referred to as the "gazette") shall be issued as a joint gazette of the SFRY Assembly and of the assembly of each individual republic and each individual autonomous province separately.

#### Article 26

Delegations of basic self-managed organizations and communities and of sociopolitical organizations shall be informed through the gazette concerning the schedules and plans of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly so that they are familiar with the business and tasks within the jurisdiction of the SFRY Assembly.

For the sake of participation in considerations and the taking of basic positions and the adoption of guidelines concerning proposals for enactment of laws or draft versions of laws, other regulations or general acts within the jurisdiction of the SFRY Assembly delegations of basic self-managed organizations and communities and of sociopolitical organizations shall specifically be informed concerning the following: the aims of and reasons for enactment of a law or other general act; the basic relations regulated thereby; the basic arrangements being proposed and also other possible solutions; an opinion as to how the proposed arrangements would affect the social status and interests of the working people in various domains of

associated labor, the interests of the working people and citizens in self-managed organizations and communities, and their community and general public interests; which proposed solutions have not been adopted and the reasons for the rejection; and other facts and data important to the taking of basic positions and the adoption of guidelines by delegations to govern the work of delegates and delegations in the SFRY Assembly.

Through the gazette delegations shall be informed in procedure for adoption of acts by the SFRY Assembly concerning opinions, proposals and positions of the joint committees of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and the respective committees of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, and also concerning the opinions, proposals and positions of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces, the Federal Executive Council, sociopolitical and other public organizations, and self-managed organizations and communities at the federal level.

Delegations shall also be informed through the gazette concerning implementation of the established policy and execution of laws, other regulations and general acts of the SFRY Assembly and also concerning other matters concerning the proceedings, the handling of business and the performance of tasks within the jurisdiction of the SFRY Assembly.

Delegations shall be informed in a concise and clear manner so as to make it possible for delegations of basic self-managed organizations and communities and of sociopolitical organizations to take basic positions and adopt guidelines to govern the work of delegates and delegations in the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 27

The gazette shall as a rule be delivered to delegations at the same time that delegates in chambers of the SFRY Assembly are delivered proposals for enactment of laws or drafts of laws, other regulations or general acts, in accordance with the dates set forth in the operating procedures of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly that apply to delivery of bills and other materials to delegates.

#### Article 28

The gazette shall be delivered to every delegation of a basic self-managed organization and community and sociopolitical organization.

The gazette shall be delivered to all delegates in the SFRY Assembly and in the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces, to federal agencies and sociopolitical and other public organizations and to self-managed organizations and communities at the federal level.

#### Article 29

The proponent of a law, other regulation or general act and the sponsor of other proposals for consideration in the SFRY Assembly must submit to the SFRY Assembly along with his proposal a separate summary of the proposal intended for delegations and containing all the data referred to in Article 26 of this operating procedure.

If the proponent of a general act or sponsor of another proposal which the chambers of the SFRY Assembly adopt on an equal footing has not delivered to the SFRY Assembly along with his proposal a separate summary of the proposal intended for delegations, before it is sent to delegates in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly the president of the SFRY Assembly shall call upon the proponent of the act or sponsor of another proposal to act in accordance with the obligation described in Paragraph 1 of this article.

#### Article 30

The president of the SFRY Assembly and the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall see that the delegations of basic self-managed organizations and communities and sociopolitical organizations receive regular and timely information through the gazette.

#### Article 31

The technical tasks related to informing the delegations of basic self-managed organizations and communities and sociopolitical organizations shall be performed by the staff services of the SFRY Assembly according to the guidelines and instructions adopted within their respective domains by the president of the SFRY Assembly, the presidents of the chambers and the chairmen of the joint committees of the chambers.

#### Article 32

Delegations of basic self-managed organizations and communities and of sociopolitical organizations may also inform their delegates and delegations in the SFRY Assembly concerning their positions, proposals and opinions through the SFRY Assembly.

The staff services of the SFRY Assembly shall communicate the positions, proposals and opinions of delegations to delegates or delegations from the respective republic or autonomous province in the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 33

A specific order adopted by both chambers equally shall regulate in detail the procedure and organization for informing the delegations of basic self-managed organizations and communities and sociopolitical organizations.

The order referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall specify the composition, tasks and operating procedure of the gazette's Editorial Board.

IV. President and Vice Presidents of the SFRY Assembly and the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly

#### Article 34

The SFRY Assembly shall have a president who shall be elected equally by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly from among the delegates.

#### Article 35

The president of the SFRY Assembly shall organize and call joint sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and preside over them, shall provide initiative for debate of individual issues in the independent or equal domain of the chambers and in the domain of the joint committees of the chambers and shall see to coordination of their proceedings.

The president shall see to the enforcement of this operating procedure, enforcement of the principle of public scrutiny of the proceedings of the SFRY Assembly and exercise of the rights of the delegates and delegations in the joint proceedings of the chambers related to performance of their function in the SFRY Assembly, shall declare elections for delegates and shall exercise other rights and perform other duties as defined by the SFRY Constitution, this operating procedure and specific regulations.

The president shall cosign ukases promulgating laws and shall sign other acts as specified by this operating procedure.

The president shall issue rules concerning internal order in the SFRY Assembly, rules concerning procedure in the SFRY Assembly related to carrying on cooperation with the parliaments of other states, and other acts he is authorized to issue under specific regulations of the SFRY Assembly or this operating procedure.

#### Article 36

The SFRY Assembly shall have five vice presidents, who shall be elected equally by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly from among the delegates.

#### Article 37

Should the president of the SFRY Assembly be absent or incapacitated, he shall be replaced by one of the vice presidents of the SFRY Assembly in accordance with the established order.

The president may delegate to the vice president certain business within his domain.



## Article 38

The president and vice presidents of the SFRY Assembly shall be elected for 4-year terms.

The office of the president and vice presidents of the SFRY Assembly shall terminate if the term for which they were elected delegates expires before expiration of the term of that office.

## Article 39

Before taking office the president of the SFRY Assembly shall make a solemn declaration before the chambers of the SFRY Assembly as follows:

"I declare that I will perform my duty responsibly and conscientiously and that I will abide by the SFRY Constitution and federal laws, that I will endeavor to protect the sovereignty, independence and integrity of the country and to achieve the rule of the working class and all the working people, that I will strive to achieve brotherhood and unity and the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, development of a socialist self-managed society and achievement of the common interests of the working people and citizens and the nationalities and ethnic minorities of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

Before taking office the same declaration shall be made by the vice presidents of the SFRY Assembly before the chambers and by the presidents and vice presidents of the chambers before the chamber of the SFRY Assembly which elected them.

Before taking up their duties the president, associate judges and lay judges of the Federal Court shall make the following solemn declaration:

"I declare that in performance of my duties I will abide by the SFRY Constitution, laws and general self-management acts, that I will perform my duties conscientiously and dispassionately, that in my work I will strive to achieve constitutionality and legality and that I will protect the freedoms and rights of citizens and the self-management status of working people and self-managed organizations and communities as well as the social order of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

Other federal officials elected or appointed by the SFRY Assembly for whom this obligation has not been set forth in law, operating procedure or decision of the SFRY Assembly shall make the following solemn declaration:

"I declare that I will discharge the duty entrusted to me responsibly and conscientiously and that I will abide by the SFRY Constitution and federal laws, that in my work I will be guided exclusively by the common interests of the working people, the nationalities and ethnic minorities, the republics and autonomous provinces and the established federal policy, that I

will strive for the sovereignty, independence and integrity of the country, for achievement of the rule of the working class and all the working people, for achievement of brotherhood and unity and the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, for the development of a socialist self-managed society and for achievement of the common interests of the working people and citizens of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

This same declaration shall also be made by supervisory personnel in the staff services of the SFRY Assembly employed by the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly. The solemn declaration referred to in Paragraphs 3, 4 and 5 of this article shall be made before the president of the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 40

The president of the SFRY Assembly, together with the vice presidents of the SFRY Assembly and the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, comprising the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly, shall perform the following functions:

- i. consider matters related to coordinating and programming the proceedings of the chambers, their respective committees and the joint committees of the chambers in the SFRY Assembly;
- ii. consideration of matters related to organization of work in the SFRY Assembly and application of the Operating Procedure of the SFRY Assembly and the operating procedures of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly;
- iii. see to cooperation of the SFRY Assembly with the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces;
- iv. see to cooperation of the SFRY Assembly with the bodies of sociopolitical and other public organizations, self-managed organizations and communities and other organizations at the federal level;
- v. see to cooperation of the SFRY Assembly with representative bodies of other states, in conformity with the provisions of this operating procedure;
- vi. establish the order in which the vice presidents shall replace the president of the SFRY Assembly;
- vii. consider matters related to the organization and work of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly, approve the draft of the decision concerning the organization and work of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly and adoption of the act concerning the organization chart in the staff services of the SFRY Assembly, hire supervisory personnel in the staff services of the SFRY Assembly and establish their status and personal incomes unless otherwise specified by law or operating procedure, and see to the working conditions and improvement of the work of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly;

viii. issue the operating procedure of the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly.

The Presidency of the SFRY Assembly, upon the nomination of the president of the SFRY Assembly, may designate an official of the SFRY Assembly who will represent the SFRY Assembly in a particular federal agency or federal organization unless federal law or decision of the SFRY Assembly states that the representative of the SFRY Assembly shall be elected or designated by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 41

The chairman of the Federal Executive Council, and should he be incapacitated--a member of the Federal Executive Council whom that council designates--shall participate in the proceedings of the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly.

Officials in the SFRY Assembly as designated by the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly may also participate in the proceedings of the Presidency.

#### Article 42

The president of the SFRY Assembly, in agreement with the presidents of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces, may call a session of the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly in which the presidents of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces shall also participate in order to take up matters of common interest to the proceedings of the SFRY Assembly and the proceedings of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

Representatives of sociopolitical and other public organizations and self-managed organizations and communities at the federal level may also be invited to this session of the Presidency.

#### Article 43

The sessions of the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly shall be called by the president of the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 44

The SFRY Assembly shall have a secretary general.

The secretary general shall participate in the proceedings of the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly, shall aid the president of the SFRY Assembly in organizing the work of the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly, and shall see to execution of the resolutions of the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly.

## V. Joint Committees of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly

### 1. General Provisions

#### Article 45

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall establish commissions as joint committees of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly (hereafter referred to as "commissions") for nominations, appointments or dismissal of officials within the competence of the SFRY Assembly; for examination of constitutional questions and monitoring implementation of the SFRY Constitution; for the proposal of bills related to the funds necessary for operation of the SFRY Assembly and compensation for personal income and other benefits of delegates and officials of the SFRY Assembly; for proposal of measures related to building and improving the system of information in the delegate assembly system and the foundations of the system for informing the public; for ascertaining that the texts of bills in the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia are identical; for consideration of petitions and proposals within the competence of the SFRY Assembly and for examination of other matters that have a bearing on the work of both the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

The commissions shall be established by this operating procedure, but they may also be established by specific decision adopted by the chambers on an equal footing.

The decision to establish a standing or ad hoc commission shall regulate its competence, composition and powers.

#### Article 46

The commission shall have a chairman and a specified number of members.

The chairman and members of a commission shall be elected from among the delegates in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, care being taken to provide equal representation of delegates from both chambers. At least one delegate from each republic and autonomous province shall be elected to the membership of every commission.

Sociopolitical and other public organizations and self-managed organizations and communities at the federal level may also send their representatives to be members of certain commissions when this is provided for by this operating procedure or the decision to establish the commission.

Members of certain commissions may also be chosen from scientists, professionals and public figures when provision is made by this operating procedure or the decision to establish the commission.

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The total number of the members of the commission referred to in Paragraphs 3 and 4 of this article must be fewer than the number of members of the commission elected from among the delegates.

#### Article 47

The chairman and members of the commission shall be elected and dismissed by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly on an equal footing.

The chairman and members of the commission shall be elected to a 4-year term unless the decision to establish the commission provides for election for a shorter term.

The chairmanship and membership shall cease before that time if the term for which the delegate has been elected expires.

The chairman and all or certain members of the commission may also be dismissed before expiration of the term for which they have been elected.

The individual member of the commission who is a delegate shall be elected or dismissed during the term of office of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly whose delegate is being elected or relieved of his duties as a member of the commission.

#### Article 48

The chairman of the commission shall organize the commission's work.

The chairman shall provide the initiative for consideration of individual matters within the competence of the commission, shall call meetings, shall propose the agenda of the meetings and shall preside over them, shall see that the members of the commission are informed concerning matters within the competence of the commission, shall cooperate with the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and the chairmen of their committees and also with the chairmen of other commissions and with officials heading federal administrative agencies and federal organizations, shall see to the enforcement of the operating procedure and implementation of the resolutions of the commission, and shall also perform other tasks as defined by this operating procedure or the decision to establish the commission.

#### Article 49

The commission shall elect from among the delegate-members of the commission a deputy chairman of the commission, who shall replace the chairman in case of his incapacity or absence.

#### Article 50

The commission shall conduct its business in meetings.

The commission's meeting shall be called by the chairman of the commission on his own initiative. The chairman of a commission must call a meeting if this is requested by the president of the SFRY Assembly or the president of a chamber of the SFRY Assembly, or if this is proposed by a fifth of the members of the commission, by 10 delegates in any chamber, or by any delegation in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

The request or proposal for calling the meeting shall also state the matters which are to be placed on the meeting's agenda.

If the chairman of the commission does not call a meeting of the commission when required to do so, the meeting shall be called by the president of the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 51

A commission may take decisions if the meeting is attended by a majority of the commission's members, and the decisions receive a majority of the votes of the members present.

#### Article 52

The commission shall adopt its own calendar and program.

#### Article 53

The commission may establish subcommissions or work groups as its own bodies to study particular matters within its competence and to draft reports and bills which it is preparing for the chamber. Members of subcommissions or work groups shall be appointed from among members of the commission and scientists, professionals and public figures.

A commission may commission scientific and other institutions and individual experts to prepare bills or to study a particular matter within its competence if this has been provided for in the chamber's program.

#### Article 54

At the request of the chambers or the president of the SFRY Assembly or on their own initiative the commissions shall submit reports to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly concerning individual matters which they have taken up.

The commission's report shall contain opinions pronounced and positions taken on matters taken up in meetings of the commission.

#### Article 55

When it decides to submit a report or proposal to a chamber of the SFRY Assembly, the commission shall designate a reporter who by order of the

commission, on his own initiative or at the request of the chamber shall present the case for the commission's position or proposal in the session of the chamber.

In the session of the chamber the reporter shall speak on behalf of the commission concerning matters related to the report or proposal of the commission, but he may not alter the proposal of the commission or withdraw it unless so authorized by the commission.

#### Article 56

The commission shall cooperate with other commissions and committees of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly on matters of common interest, and it may also hold joint meetings with those commissions and committees.

#### Article 57

The commission shall have the right to require that its meeting be attended by a representative or spokesman of the Federal Executive Council when a proposal of that council is being taken up in the meeting, and by a representative of a federal administrative agency or federal organization when a matter within the competence of that agency or organization is being taken up in the meeting.

The representative or spokesman of the Federal Executive Council shall have the right to participate in consideration of the proposal of the Federal Executive Council in the meeting of the commission.

The representative of a federal administrative agency or federal organization shall have the right to participate in consideration of the matter that lies in the competence of that agency or organization during the meeting of the commission.

The representative of another sponsor of a proposal being taken up in the meeting shall also have the right to attend a meeting of the commission and to participate in its proceedings.

#### Article 58

The commission shall have the right to request of a federal administrative agency or federal organizations reports and other data necessary for its work which those agencies or organizations possess or are required to gather and record within their area of competence.

The commission may also request reports of the Federal Executive Council on matters which are on the agenda of a meeting of the commission and which fall within the competence of the Federal Executive Council.

The commission has the right to request reports and data of this kind from self-managed organizations and communities which on the basis of law exercise public authority in matters of interest to the Federation and which pertain to their activity in the exercise of public authority.

#### Article 59

The commissions shall cooperate on matters within their competence with the corresponding bodies of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces and in agreement with them may organize joint consideration and study of a particular matter.

#### Article 60

A commission may invite to its meetings representatives of sociopolitical and other public organizations, self-managed organizations and communities, and other organizations, as well as scientists, professionals and public figures to present the opinions of those organizations and communities or individuals concerning matters under consideration in the meeting.

#### Article 61

Commissions may adopt an operating procedure, but they must do so if that has been prescribed by this operating procedure or the decision to establish the commission.

#### Article 62

In addition to reimbursement of expenses, members of a commission and of its bodies elected from among scientists, professionals and public figures who are not delegates may be awarded additional remuneration for work on the commission.

#### Article 63

In addition to commissions the chambers of the SFRY Assembly may also establish other joint standing or ad hoc committees.

The decision to establish a joint standing or ad hoc committee shall state its composition, competence and tasks.

#### Article 64

The standing commission shall have a secretary.

The commission's secretary shall aid the commission's chairman in the preparation of meetings, shall participate in preparation of various materials for meetings, shall prepare the report and minutes of meetings of the commission, and shall organize and perform other technical tasks to meet the commission's needs.



The commission's secretary shall be accountable for his work to the commission and the chairman of the commission and to the secretary general of the SFRY Assembly.

## 2. Specific Provisions

### Article 65

The standing commissions are as follows:

- 1) Commission for Elections and Appointments;
- 2) Commission for Constitutional Affairs;
- 3) Administrative Commission;
- 4) Commission for Information;
- 5) Commission To Ascertain That Texts in the Languages of the Nationalities of Yugoslavia Are Identical;
- 6) Commission for Petitions and Proposals.
  - a) Commission for Elections and Appointments

### Article 66

The Commission for Elections and Appointments shall examine general matters concerning personnel policy and matters related to elections, appointments and dismissals within the competence of the SFRY Assembly.

In performance of these tasks the commission, in cooperation with agencies and organizations concerned with resolving personnel questions, shall prepare proposals and submit them to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and shall offer them opinions related to elections, appointments and dismissals of the SFRY Assembly.

### Article 67

Within the range of tasks in the domain of general matters of personnel policy the commission shall see to implementation of the constitutional principles and social norms pertaining to personnel policy in federal agencies and organizations and shall propose measures to implement them to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

### Article 68

Within the confines of tasks in the domain of elections, appointments and dismissals in the competence of the SFRY Assembly, the commission shall specifically perform the following:

i. prepare and submit to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly nominations for election or appointment and proposals for dismissal of officials of the SFRY Assembly and its chambers, as well as nominations for membership of the joint commissions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and other committees of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly;

ii. examine proposals of authorized sponsors for election and dismissal of members of the Federal Executive Council and for appointment and dismissal of federal secretaries and other officials, chairmen and members of collegial bodies appointed by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly from the standpoint of meeting the conditions established for that position and conformity to procedure established for preparing proposals for their election and dismissal, and shall submit an opinion concerning those proposals to the chambers;

iii. prepare and submit to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly a nomination for election or appointment or proposal for dismissal of the president and associate judges of the Federal Court, the federal public prosecutor and his deputies and the chairman and members of collegial bodies and other officials as designated by law who are elected or appointed by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly;

iv. submit to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, after first obtaining the opinion of the Federal Executive Council a nomination for appointment or proposal for dismissal of the governor of the Yugoslav National Bank, the general director of the Social Accounting Service and his deputy and other officials appointed by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly for whose appointment the law states that the opinion of the Federal Executive Council shall be obtained.

#### Article 69

The Commission for Elections and Appointments shall carry on cooperation with corresponding bodies of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces concerning all essential matters of personnel policy within the competence of the Federation and concerning matters of election or appointment of officials elected or appointed by the SFRY Assembly, shall obtain the proposals and opinions of those bodies concerning elections and appointments, and shall achieve a reconciliation of views concerning nominations for elections and appointments.

#### Article 70

The Commission for Elections and Appointments may conduct surveys within the limits of its competence and demand the necessary reports, data and documents from government bodies and agencies and self-managed organizations.

## Article 71

The Commission for Elections and Appointments shall have a chairman and 19 members.

Seven members shall be elected from among the delegates in each of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, the chairman of the commission to be included in that number, and six members shall be delegated by the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia.

## b) Commission for Constitutional Affairs

## Article 72

The Commission for Constitutional Affairs shall perform the following functions:

- i. monitor implementation of the SFRY Constitution;
- ii. examine fundamental constitutional issues related to enactment and enforcement of laws and other general acts of the SFRY Assembly;
- iii. examine proposed constitutional amendments.

On the matters enumerated in Paragraph 1 of this article the commission shall submit to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly a report containing its opinions and proposals.

The commission shall cooperate with the joint committees of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and the committees of the respective chambers of the SFRY Assembly and also with corresponding committees in the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces, as well as with other agencies and sociopolitical and other public organizations and self-managed organizations and communities at the federal level.

## Article 73

The Commission for Constitutional Affairs shall have a chairman and 30 members.

The chairman and 15 members of the commission shall be elected from among the delegates in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

The Federal Executive Council and the Yugoslav Economic Chamber shall each designate one member of the commission from among their own members; sociopolitical and other public organizations at the federal level, on the basis of a prior agreement within the framework of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, shall delegate five members of the commission; and the other members of the commission shall be elected by the

chambers of the SFRY Assembly from among scientists, professionals and public figures.

Representatives of corresponding committees of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces may also participate in the proceedings of the commission.

#### Article 74

The Commission for Constitutional Affairs shall adopt its own operating procedure.

#### c) Administrative Commission

#### Article 75

The Administrative Commission shall perform the following:

- i. approve and submit to the chambers proposed regulations concerning compensation for personal income and other benefits of delegates and federal officials elected or appointed by the SFRY Assembly and delegates and officials whose service is terminating, and within the limits of legal authority to issue more detailed regulations concerning their implementation;
- ii. participate in preparations of social compacts regulating the questions of compensation of personal income and other benefits of delegates and federal officials elected or appointed by the SFRY Assembly and submit opinions to the chambers concerning these compacts;
- iii. render individual rulings concerning compensation for personal income and other benefits of delegates and federal officials elected or appointed by the SFRY Assembly;
- iv. in accordance with regulations and social compact fix the level of per diems, compensation for separation from family, compensation for vacation, moving expenses, compensation for use of privately owned automobile for official business, etc.;
- v. fix the amount of reimbursement of expenses and standards to be followed in determining the additional remuneration of members of commissions and their constituent bodies chosen from among scientists, professionals and public figures;
- vi. cooperate with corresponding committees of assemblies of republics and assemblies of autonomous provinces in establishing standards to govern determination of the amount of compensation and other benefits of delegates and federal officials elected or appointed by the SFRY Assembly;

vii. see to proper use of the funds appropriated in the federal budget for performance of the activities of the SFRY Assembly and for its special purposes and submit a report on this matter to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly;

viii. approve the proposal for appropriation in the federal budget of funds for the operation of the SFRY Assembly and its staff services, amend the purpose and amount of funds envisaged in the federal budget for performance of the activities of the SFRY Assembly and for its special purposes when so authorized by law;

ix. issue orders for application of the basic principles and standards concerning personal incomes and concerning the exercise of other rights by supervisory personnel and the staff services of the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 76

The Administrative Commission shall have a chairman and seven members elected from among the delegates.

An equal number of members shall be elected from among the delegates of each chamber, the chairman of the commission to be included in that number.

#### Article 77

The Administrative Commission shall report to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly concerning its activity and the regulations which it has issued.

The regulations issued by the commission shall be published in the official gazette of the SFRY.

#### d) Commission for Information

#### Article 78

The Commission for Information shall take up matters concerning the following:

i. arrangement and advancement of the basic elements of the public information system;

ii. construction and improvement of the system for informing the delegations of basic self-managed organizations and communities and sociopolitical organizations on matters under consideration and deliberation in the SFRY Assembly and oversight over the functioning of that system;

iii. the manner in which delegates and delegations to the SFRY Assembly are informed;

- iv. the manner in which the public is informed about the proceedings of the SFRY Assembly;
- v. construction and operation of a unified data and documentation system for the needs of federal agencies and sociopolitical and other public organizations and self-managed organizations and communities at the federal level;
- vi. and other matters concerning information which have a bearing on performance of the function of the SFRY Assembly in this domain.

#### Article 79

The Commission for Information shall have a chairman and 14 members.

The chairman and seven members of the commission shall be elected from among the delegates of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, one members shall be delegated by the Federal Executive Council, and six members of the commission shall be delegated, on the basis of prior agreement within the framework of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, by sociopolitical and other public organizations at the federal level.

Representatives of corresponding bodies of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces may also participate in the activity of the commission.

#### Article 80

The Commission for Information shall adopt its own operating procedure.

e) Commission To Ascertain That Texts in the Languages of the Nationalities of Yugoslavia Are Identical

#### Article 81

The Commission To Ascertain That Texts in the Languages of the Nationalities of Yugoslavia Are Identical shall ascertain that the texts of bills under consideration in the sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly are identical in the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia as established by the republic constitutions.

#### Article 82

The commission shall ascertain that the text of a bill is identical in the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia as established by republic constitutions before commencement of debate of that bill in a session of a chamber and shall report to the chamber on whether the texts of a bill being debated are identical.

If in a session of a chamber an amendment is submitted in only one of the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia, the chamber may decide to suspend debate of that amendment until it is ascertained that the text of the amendment is identical in the other languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia.

In that case the chamber may finally adopt the bill including the amendment when the text is ascertained to be identical in the other languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia.

The commission shall also ascertain that the texts of acts of the SFRY Assembly in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (the Albanian and Hungarian languages) are identical with the texts adopted in the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia.

#### Article 83

The Commission To Ascertain That Texts in the Languages of the Nationalities of Yugoslavia Are Identical shall have sections for each of the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia established by republic constitutions and for the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (the Albanian and Hungarian languages).

#### Article 84

The commission shall have a chairman and a specified number of members.

Each section for the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia and for the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (the Albanian and Hungarian languages) shall have four members, two of which shall be elected from among the delegates, and two from among experts for the relevant language.

#### Article 85

The commission shall adopt its own operating procedure.

f) Commission for Petitions and Proposals

#### Article 86

The Commission for Petitions and Proposals shall within the limits of the competence of the SFRY Assembly perform the following:

i. examine petitions whereby the working people and citizens, self-managed organizations and communities and other organizations and bodies of sociopolitical communities take the initiative for enactment, amendment or supplementation of laws, other regulations or general acts within the competency of the SFRY Assembly unless the operating procedures of the chambers

state that petitions of particular organizations, communities and bodies shall go directly to the competent chamber for consideration;

ii. examine petitions and proposals which the working people and citizens, self-managed organizations and communities and other organizations and bodies of sociopolitical communities submit to the SFRY Assembly and whereby they point to situations arising in the enforcement of laws, other regulations and general acts and submit a report on this to the relevant committees of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and propose that they take particular measures;

iii. consider petitions and proposals pertaining to individual cases in conformity with the provisions of this article;

iv. consider petitions and proposals of working people and citizens, organizations, communities and bodies raising the issue of the accountability of officials elected or appointed by the SFRY Assembly, whereupon, at its own discretion, it may propose to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly that they take appropriate steps;

v. consider in cooperation with the corresponding bodies of other federal agencies and sociopolitical organizations and other interested public organizations and self-managed organizations and communities at the federal level petitions and proposals embodying political and other initiative of general interest or warning of problems and shortcomings requiring that activities of broad public importance be undertaken.

Should the commission find that there are grounds for consideration of the initiative for enactment, amendment or supplementation of a law or other general act within the competency of the SFRY Assembly contained in the petition, it shall send it to the appropriate committee of the competent chamber of the SFRY Assembly. If the appropriate committee does not approve the initiative to which the petition pertains the commission shall so inform the petitioner.

If a petition or proposal pertaining to individual cases raises a question regulated by federal statute, the commission shall immediately take up the petition or proposal and communicate the result to the sponsor of the petition or proposal. If the petition or proposal raises a question regulated by republic or provincial statute, the commission shall as a rule turn the petition or proposal over to the appropriate commission of the assembly of the republic or the assembly of the autonomous province and inform the sponsor of the petition or proposal of this relinquishment and the grounds for it.

#### Article 87

The Commission for Petitions and Proposals shall submit a report to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly concerning its work and its observations, including proposals of measures that need to be taken.



#### Article 88

The Commission for Petitions and Proposals may within the limits of its competence conduct analyses of particular phenomena and to that end conduct surveys and demand necessary reports, data and documents from government agencies and self-managed organizations and other organizations.

#### Article 89

The Commission for Petitions and Proposals shall have a chairman and 12 members. Eight members shall be elected from among the delegates of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, the chairman of the commission to be included in that number, while five members of the commission shall be delegated, on the basis of a prior agreement within the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, by sociopolitical and other public organizations at the federal level.

#### Article 90

The Commission for Petitions and Proposals shall adopt its own operating procedure.

#### VI. Procedure To Be Followed in a Joint Session of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly

##### 1. General Provisions

#### Article 91

In a joint session of the chambers the SFRY Assembly shall proclaim the election and announce the membership of the SFRY State Presidency.

#### Article 92

The joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall be called by the president of the SFRY Assembly.

The president of the SFRY Assembly shall also call a joint session when this is requested by the President of the Republic, the SFRY State Presidency or the Federal Executive Council.

#### Article 93

The summons to a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly must be delivered to the delegates 10 days before the date appointed for holding the session.

Along with the summons, the delegates shall be delivered the proposed agenda and relevant material on matters proposed for the agenda, as well as the

minutes from the last session if they have not previously been delivered to them.

#### Article 94

The president of the SFRY Assembly shall preside over the joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

All delegates have the right and duty to participate in proceedings in a joint session of the chambers.

Members of the SFRY State Presidency and the chairman and members of the Federal Executive Council may participate in the proceedings of a joint session of the chambers.

Representatives of sociopolitical and other public organizations, self-managed organizations and communities, and other organizations may be summoned to a joint session of the chambers.

#### Article 95

The head of another state, members of a delegation of a representative body of another state, the representative of an international organization or other foreign statesman may attend a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly as guests of the SFRY Assembly.

A foreign public official or representative of an international organization as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article may deliver an address in a joint session.

#### Article 96

Minutes shall be kept on proceedings in the joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

The secretary general of the SFRY Assembly shall see to the keeping of the minutes.

2. Proclamation of the Election and Announcement of the Membership of the SFRY State Presidency

#### Article 97

The assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces, immediately after the election, shall inform the president of the SFRY Assembly whom they have elected a member of the SFRY State Presidency.

When he receives the reports of all the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces, the president of the SFRY Assembly

shall send them to the delegates and schedule a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 98

Members of the SFRY State Presidency elected in the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces and the chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia shall be summoned in addition to the delegates to the joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 99

In the joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly the president of the SFRY Assembly, after ascertaining whom the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces have elected members of the SFRY State Presidency, or who is a member of the SFRY Presidency as the chairman of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, shall proclaim their election and shall announce the membership of the SFRY State Presidency.

#### Article 100

After announcing the membership of the SFRY State Presidency, the president of the SFRY Assembly shall call upon the members of the SFRY State Presidency to make the solemn declaration.

Members of the SFRY State Presidency shall make a solemn declaration whose text has been set forth in the SFRY Constitution and shall sign the text of the solemn declaration.

#### Article 101

The membership of the SFRY State Presidency shall be announced in the official gazette of the SFRY.

#### Article 102

The provisions of this operating procedure concerning proclamation of the election and announcement of the membership of the SFRY State Presidency shall also apply to proclamation of the election of a new member of the SFRY State Presidency who has been elected to replace a member of the SFRY State Presidency whose term has expired before expiration of the term of the SFRY Presidency.

## VII. Mutual Relations Between the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly and Their Cooperation

### 1. Mutual Cooperation of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly and Among Their Committees

#### Article 103

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly may decide to sit together to debate matters falling equally within their respective jurisdictions.

The chambers may also decide to sit together to hear the solemn declarations of officials elected by the SFRY Assembly, to hear detailed policy reviews, reports, etc., and to debate other matters of common interest.

#### Article 104

A session which the chambers of the SFRY Assembly hold jointly shall be called by the presidents of those chambers by agreement or on the basis of a resolution of the chambers after they have first agreed on the date and agenda of that session.

A session which the chambers hold jointly shall be chaired by the president of the chamber which has jurisdiction over the matters on the session's agenda, and if the items on the agenda fall equally within the jurisdictions of the chambers, the session shall be presided over by the presidents of the chambers alternately.

#### Article 105

Should the chambers resolve also to make a decision in the session they hold jointly, each chamber shall vote separately.

#### Article 106

In a session which the chambers hold jointly the provisions concerning operating procedure in sessions of the chambers shall be appropriately applied.

#### Article 107

The committees of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly may resolve to hold a session jointly in order to examine matters of interest to both chambers and may file a joint report to the chambers concerning such matters.

A session which committees of the chambers hold jointly shall be called by the chairmen of those committees by agreement or on the basis of a resolution of the committee, after agreement has been reached concerning the date and agenda of the session. These sessions shall be chaired by the chairmen of the committees alternately.

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## 2. Examination in One Chamber of Bills in the Jurisdiction of the Other Chamber

### Article 108

In the course of proceedings for passage of a bill the competent chamber may call upon the other chamber to examine the bill and furnish an opinion concerning that bill.

The chamber whose opinion is sought shall examine the bill and submit its position or opinion concerning the bill to the competent chamber.

### Article 109

In the course of proceedings for passage of a bill within the jurisdiction of another chamber each chamber shall examine the bill if it regulates matters which are significant to performance of tasks within the jurisdiction of that chamber.

Having examined the bill, the chamber may present its proposals and opinions to the competent chamber.

The competent chamber is required to take those proposals and opinions under consideration.

### Article 110

A chamber which has submitted to the competent chamber a proposal or opinion concerning a bill within the jurisdiction of that chamber may designate its representative who will substantiate the proposal or opinion of the chamber in a session of the competent chamber.

### Article 111

A committee of a chamber of the SFRY Assembly may in the course of proceedings for passage of a bill within the jurisdiction of the other chamber take up that bill and communicate its opinion to the chamber of which it is a committee.

## 3. Procedure for Reconciling the Views of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly in the Passage of Bills Falling Equally Within the Jurisdictions of the Chambers

### Article 112

The presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall inform one another concerning the text of a bill that falls equally within their jurisdictions and which has been passed by the chambers and concerning the positions which the chambers have taken in debate of the bill.

A bill shall be considered passed when it has been adopted in an identical text in both chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 113

If the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly find that a bill has not been adopted in an identical text in both chambers, they shall so inform the chamber.

The chambers shall in this case reopen debate of the bill, and if the bill is not adopted in the identical text even after renewed debate, the bill shall be removed from the agenda of the session of the chambers.

#### Article 114

On the petition of the proponent the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall return to the agenda of the next session a bill which has been removed from the agenda of sessions of the chambers.

Before debate in the session of the chamber the committees of the chambers shall consider the bill in a joint session and submit a report to the chambers.

#### Article 115

If even after debate of the joint report of the committees of the chambers the chambers of the SFRY Assembly do not adopt the bill in an identical text, the chambers may decide to remove the bill from the agenda or establish a joint commission consisting of an equal number of members from the two chambers, which would be commissioned to draft proposals that would resolve the matter in dispute.

If agreement is not reached in the joint commission or if one of the chambers does not accept the proposal to resolve the matter in dispute which has been submitted by the joint commission, the bill shall be removed from the agenda and shall be returned to the agenda in a later session of the chamber on petition of the proponent.

The procedure for such a bill shall be the same as when the bill was taken up in a previous session of the chamber.

#### Article 116

If in the second successive session the chambers of the SFRY Assembly do not pass the bill in an identical text, it shall be assumed that the decision to extend the term of delegates has not been adopted, enactment of a law to ratify an international treaty shall be postponed for 3 months, and until adoption of the operating procedure of the SFRY Assembly the operating procedure in the text adopted by the Federal Executive Council shall be applied.

#### Article 117

If the chambers of the SFRY Assembly do not pass a sponsor's nomination for election or appointment or proposal for dismissal of federal officials elected or appointed by the SFRY Assembly, the authorized sponsor shall submit a new nomination for election or appointment or new proposal for dismissal.

#### 4. Procedure for Resolving Matters of Dispute Concerning Jurisdiction of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly

#### Article 118

If in preparing calendars and programs of the chambers or proposed agendas of sessions of the chambers or when the president of the SFRY Assembly is sending proposals of laws, other regulations or general acts submitted to the SFRY Assembly to the competent chambers, or in proceedings within chambers, committees of the chambers and joint committees of the chambers a dispute should arise as to which chamber has jurisdiction to adopt the law, other regulation or general act, at the request of the president of the SFRY Assembly, the presidents of the chambers, the chairman of the committee of a chamber or chairman of a joint committee of the chambers, this question shall be taken up by the legislative-legal commissions of both chambers in a joint session.

#### Article 119

The legislative-legal commissions of the two chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall take positions concerning the matter in dispute on the basis of their consideration of the matter and shall report their positions and opinions to the president of the SFRY Assembly.

If the legislative-legal commissions of the two chambers take an identical position concerning the matter in dispute, the president of the SFRY Assembly shall communicate this opinion to the official or committee which instituted proceedings for resolution of the matter in dispute and to the presidents of the two chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

If the legislative-legal commissions have not taken an identical position, the president of the SFRY Assembly shall submit the matter in dispute to the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly, which shall propose to the chambers a resolution of the matter in dispute.

If the chambers do not agree with the proposal of the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly, the chambers shall by agreement set forth the manner and procedure for reconciliation of views concerning the matter in dispute.

## 5. Coordination of the Programs of the Chambers

### Article 120

Each chamber of the SFRY Assembly shall independently adopt its own program.

The program shall cover a period of 1 year, and it may also be adopted for a longer period.

On the basis of their programs the chambers shall adopt calendars covering intervals within that period.

### Article 121

Each chamber of the SFRY Assembly shall submit the draft of its program and calendar to the other chamber, which shall examine the draft from the standpoint of tasks and dates for completion of those tasks and the manner of their preparation and shall submit its opinion to the other chamber.

Each chamber shall consider the opinion of the other chamber and communicate its position to the other chamber.

### Article 122

If in drawing up and adopting the programs and calendars of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and in drawing up the programs and calendars of the Federal Executive Council questions arise requiring coordination of tasks and dates for their completion, the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly shall examine the proposed programs and calendars of the chambers and shall propose to the chambers a way of coordinating work on these matters.

### Article 123

If in drawing up and adopting the programs of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and the programs of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces a need arises to reconcile these programs in connection with matters important to the work of the chambers, the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly, together with the presidents of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces, shall examine the programs and propose the manner in which the program shall be reconciled.



VIII. Procedure Governing the SFRY Assembly's Participation in the Proceedings of Federal Public Councils

Article 124

The SFRY Assembly shall participate in the work of the federal public councils in accordance with law and the social compact concerning their establishment.

Article 125

Delegates representing committees of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall participate in the work of federal public councils depending on the matters which are on the agenda of the sessions of the federal public councils.

Article 126

Delegates in the SFRY Assembly who participate in the work of a federal public council must present in the session of the council the opinions and positions of the committee of the chamber whose jurisdiction covers the question being considered in the session of the council if the committee of the chamber has taken a position on that matter.

The delegate of the SFRY Assembly participating in the work of a federal public council shall inform the committee whose jurisdiction includes the matter being considered in the session of the council concerning the positions and opinions adopted in the session of the council.

Article 127

The president of the SFRY Assembly, the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and other delegates in the SFRY Assembly designated by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly may participate in the work of federal public councils.

Article 128

All delegates in the SFRY Assembly shall be informed about the positions and opinions of the federal public councils adopted in the procedure for preparation of specific laws and other general acts or in connection with consideration of other matters important to the work of the SFRY Assembly which have been sent to the SFRY Assembly.

Article 129

In proceedings for preparation and consideration of a law or other general act within the competency of the SFRY Assembly the committees of the chambers and the competent chamber of the SFRY Assembly shall take under consideration the opinions and positions of federal public councils concerning the consideration of that bill.

## IX. Acts of the SFRY Assembly

### Article 130

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall enact federal laws, the social plan of Yugoslavia, the federal budget and the final statement of the federal budget, declarations, resolutions, recommendations and decisions, and shall render authentic interpretations of federal laws (acts of the SFRY Assembly).

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly and their committees may also adopt resolves.

The SFRY Assembly shall participate in the conclusion of social compacts.

### Article 131

The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, within the limits of its jurisdiction, shall adopt federal laws, other regulations and general acts of the SFRY Assembly independently.

The Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly, within the limits of its jurisdiction, when the SFRY Constitution so provides, shall enact laws and other regulations and general acts on the basis of consent of the assemblies of the republics and assemblies of the autonomous provinces, and it shall adopt other laws and other regulations and general acts independently.

Laws to ratify international treaties shall be adopted independently by each chamber within the limits of its jurisdiction, and laws to ratify international treaties requiring enactment of new or amendment of existing republic and provincial laws shall be enacted by both chambers on an equal footing.

The social plan of Yugoslavia shall be adopted by the Chamber of Republics and Provinces on the basis of the consent of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

The federal budget and final statement of the federal budget shall be adopted by the Federal Chamber independently.

An authentic interpretation of a federal law shall be rendered by the chamber of the SFRY Assembly which adopted the federal law.

An authentic interpretation of a law to ratify international treaties which the chambers have enacted on an equal footing shall be rendered by both chambers equally.

#### Article 132

The declaration shall express a general position of the SFRY Assembly on matters in the domains of domestic or foreign policy.

#### Article 133

The resolution shall point to the situation, problems and needs in a particular domain of public life and shall establish the policy which should be conducted in that domain and shall envisage measures to implement that policy.

#### Article 134

The recommendation shall point up the importance of particular matters pertaining to enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts or the development of self-management and self-management relations in a particular area.

The recommendation shall express the opinion of the SFRY Assembly concerning establishment of harmony in self-management relations and development of mutual cooperation among organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities and other organizations, guidance of the activity of those organizations and communities on matters of common interest, and promotion of conclusion of self-management accords and social compacts.

The recommendation shall propose measures which organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities and other organizations and government agencies should take in order to resolve these matters in conformity with their tasks and interests.

#### Article 135

The decision shall be adopted as an act in exercise of the rights and duties of the SFRY Assembly, as an executive regulation, or as an act to regulate the internal organization and relations in the SFRY Assembly.

By a decision which is an act in exercise of the rights and duties of the SFRY Assembly the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, within their respective jurisdictions, shall decide on an election or appointment and dismissal, on confirmation of relevant acts of self-managed organizations and communities, or on the granting of consent to such acts, and also on other rights and duties of the SFRY Assembly when regulations so provide.

The decision as an executive regulation is a general act adopted to implement and concretize specific provisions of law when federal law so provides.

A decision may also be adopted as an executive regulation by the Administrative Commission.

Decisions regulating the internal organization, procedure and relations in the domain of the joint work of the chambers and the work of the joint committees of the chambers shall be adopted by both chambers equally. The chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall also adopt equally the decision concerning the organization and work of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly.

Each chamber shall independently adopt decisions regulating its own internal organization, proceedings and relations within the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, and the committees of the chambers shall do likewise if they have been so authorized by the operating procedure of the chambers.

#### Article 136

Each chamber of the SFRY Assembly may within the limits of its jurisdiction adopt resolves concerning its own work and the work of a committee which it has established and concerning the work of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly to meet the needs of the chamber and its committees.

Within the limits of their jurisdiction the chambers may also adopt a resolve to set forth the obligations of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies and federal organizations with respect to the preparation of bills or performance of other tasks within their competence.

Within their jurisdiction the chambers may adopt a resolve to establish the obligations of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies and federal organizations and to set guidelines for them in connection with execution of federal laws, other regulations and general acts and guidance of the activity of those bodies and agencies.

The resolves of the chambers shall be delivered to the bodies, agencies and organizations to which they pertain and shall be published in the information bulletin of the SFRY Assembly.

The joint committees of the chambers and the committees of the respective chambers may adopt resolves only concerning their own work.

#### Article 137

The SFRY Assembly shall participate in the conclusion of a social compact when law so provides or when the chamber of the SFRY Assembly whose jurisdiction includes the matter which is the subject of the social compact so decides.

The chamber whose jurisdiction includes the matter which is the subject of a social compact shall designate the committee of the chamber which shall participate in preparing the social compact and, after agreement has been reached with coparticipants in the social compact, it shall propose to the chamber the text of the social compact for adoption. That chamber shall decide on adoption of the social compact, and a social compact adopted in the name of the SFRY Assembly shall be signed by the president of the SFRY Assembly and by the president of the chamber which adopted it.

The procedure set forth in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article shall be appropriately applied to participation of the SFRY Assembly in conclusion of agreements.

#### Article 138

The text of a law shall not be signed.

The ukase promulgating a law, the social plan of Yugoslavia, the federal budget and the final statement of the federal budget shall be cosigned by the president of the SFRY Assembly.

The decision concerning election of the Federal Executive Council shall also be promulgated by ukase.

Acts adopted in joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall be signed by the president of the SFRY Assembly.

Acts adopted by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly which lie equally within their respective jurisdictions, except for laws, shall be signed by the president of the SFRY Assembly and by the presidents of both chambers of the SFRY Assembly, and acts adopted by one chamber within its exclusive jurisdiction, other than laws, shall be signed by the president of the SFRY Assembly and by the president of that chamber.

A resolve adopted by a chamber of the SFRY Assembly within its jurisdiction shall be signed by the president of the chamber which adopted the resolve.

#### Article 139

The state seal shall be placed on the original copies of laws, and the seal of the SFRY Assembly shall be placed on original copies of other regulations and general acts of the SFRY Assembly.

The seal of the SFRY Assembly shall be placed on original copies of the authentic texts of laws, other regulations and general acts of the SFRY Assembly in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (the Albanian and Hungarian languages).

By the original copy of a law or other regulation and general act of the SFRY Assembly is meant the text of the law or other regulation and general act in the languages of all the nationalities of Yugoslavia adopted in a session of the competent chamber.

The original copies of laws, other regulations and general acts of the SFRY Assembly and the original copies of authentic texts of those acts in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (the Albanian and Hungarian languages) shall be kept in the SFRY Assembly.

The secretary general of the SFRY Assembly shall see to placing the state seal on original copies of laws and the placing of the seal of the SFRY Assembly on other regulations and general acts and on the original copies of authentic texts of those acts in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (the Albanian and Hungarian languages) and to the keeping of originals and originals of authentic texts and the keeping of records of such acts.

#### Article 140

Laws, other regulations and general acts of the SFRY Assembly shall be adopted and published in the official gazette of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the authentic texts in the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia established by republic constitutions.

Laws, other regulations and general acts of the SFRY Assembly shall be published in the official gazette of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as authentic texts in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (the Albanian and Hungarian languages).

#### X. Public Scrutiny of the Proceedings of the SFRY Assembly

#### Article 141

The SFRY Assembly shall inform the public about matters under consideration and deliberation in the SFRY Assembly and also about its decisions and positions concerning those matters, as well as about the proceedings of the chambers and their committees and the joint committees of the chambers.

#### Article 142

The working people and citizens, organizations of associated labor, other self-managed organizations and communities and other organizations shall have access to informative and documentary material concerning matters under consideration in the SFRY Assembly in accordance with the provisions of the regulation concerning internal order in the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 143

In accordance with the provisions of the regulation concerning internal order in the SFRY Assembly, the working people and citizens shall be allowed free access to the SFRY Assembly, in the space set aside for that purpose.

In a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and in sessions of each of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, in sessions of the committees of the chambers and in sessions of the joint committees of the chambers it may be decided that a particular matter shall be debated in closed session if the interests of the country's security or defense or other public interests so require.

The committees of the chambers and the joint committees of the chambers may decide that the working people and citizens shall not attend sessions of those bodies if public interests so require.

#### Article 144

Representatives of the press and other news media have the right to attend a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and sessions of the committees of the chambers and sessions of the joint committees of the chambers and to inform the public about their proceedings.

In a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and in sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly a decision may be made that representatives of the press and other news media may attend a session even when a particular matter is being debated in closed session. These representatives may report to the public only those announcements concerning that matter which have been decided on the session. It may be decided in the session that reports concerning this matter may be made only at the end of a specified time.

The committees of the chambers and the joint committees of the chambers may specify the conditions under which representatives of the press and other news media may inform the public about proceedings in their sessions.

A decision may be made in sessions of the committees of the chambers and in sessions of the joint committees of the chambers to take a particular matter under consideration in the absence of representatives of the press and the other news media if the interests of the country's security or defense or other public interests so require.

#### Article 145

Bills under consideration in the SFRY Assembly, the gazette of the SFRY Assembly, informative and documentary material concerning matter under consideration in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, their committees and joint

committees of the chambers, and announcements, reports on the proceedings of the committees of the chambers and the joint committees of the chambers and transcripts of sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall be made available to representatives of the press and other news media unless the chamber or committee decides to take up a particular matter in the absence of representatives of the press and other news media.

#### Article 146

Representatives of the press and other news media and persons whose work pertains to the tasks of informing the public about the proceedings of the SFRY Assembly must in performance of that activity abide by the principles of professional ethics and civic responsibility.

The publication of reports detrimental to the prestige of the SFRY Assembly or the interests of the public community, or the honor, reputation and rights of the delegation shall be punishable.

#### Article 147

A regulation to be issued by the president of the SFRY Assembly shall regulate the manner in which representatives of the press and other news media shall exercise their rights and discharge their duties and responsibilities in the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 148

The competent chamber may decide to publish a proposed law or proposal of another general act being debated in the SFRY Assembly and of particular importance to the public in the press or a separate publication.

#### Article 149

The SFRY Assembly shall issue an information bulletin of the SFRY Assembly so as to inform the delegates and delegations and interested government bodies and agencies and sociopolitical and other public organizations, self-managed organizations and communities, and other organizations about its proceedings.

The decisions and resolves of the SFRY Assembly and its chambers which are not published in the official gazette of the SFRY shall be published in the information bulletin of the SFRY Assembly.

The SFRY Assembly shall issue publications on its proceedings and on the questions it takes up.



#### Article 150

The SFRY Assembly shall issue transcripts of sessions of the chambers.

The manner of editing and issuing transcripts shall be regulated by a specific decision enacted by the chambers on an equal footing.

#### Article 151

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly, their committees and the joint committees of the chambers may decide to issue an official statement for the press and other news media in order to inform the public about the proceedings of the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 152

An official statement for the press and other news media shall specifically be issued after sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly or their committees or joint committees of the chambers from which the public has been excluded or representatives of the press and other news media have been excluded and also in other cases when the chamber or committee so decides.

If the text of the official statement has not been established in the session of the chamber or committee or in the session of the joint committee of the chambers, that text shall be approved by the president of the chamber or chairman of the committee.

#### Article 153

A press conference shall be held on decision of a chamber of the SFRY Assembly, the president of the SFRY Assembly, the president of a chamber or the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly.

The president of the SFRY Assembly, the president of a chamber and the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly may designate representatives who will hold the press conference.

The Presidency of the SFRY Assembly may also recommend to other officials in the SFRY Assembly that they hold a press conference.

XI. Use of the Spoken and Written Languages in the Proceedings of the SFRY Assembly

#### Article 154

In sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, their respective committees and joint committees of the chambers every delegate has the right to speak in any of the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia or in the language of the minority to which he belongs.

The delegate and the delegation have the right to submit to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, their respective committees and the joint committees of the chambers written proposals, amendments and other motions in any of the languages and scripts of the nationalities of Yugoslavia established by republic constitutions or in any of the languages and scripts of the ethnic minorities.

The speech of a delegate delivered in a session of a chamber of the SFRY Assembly or its committee or a joint committee of the chambers in any of the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia shall be translated into the other languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia.

The speech of a delegate delivered in a session of a chamber of the SFRY Assembly or its committee or a joint committee of the chambers in the language of an ethnic minority shall be translated into all the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia.

The provisions of Paragraphs 1 through 3 of this article shall also apply to other speakers in sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and their committees.

#### Article 155

Every delegate has the right to submit to chambers of the SFRY Assembly and their respective committees written proposals, amendments and other motions in any of the languages and scripts of the nationalities of Yugoslavia established by republic constitutions or the language and script of the ethnic minority to which he belongs.

A delegate's motions written in one of the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia and motions written in the languages of the various minorities shall be translated into the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia established by republic constitutions and also into the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (the Albanian and Hungarian languages).

#### Article 156

In the SFRY Assembly the following shall be prepared in the languages and scripts of the nationalities of Yugoslavia established by republic constitutions and in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (the Albanian and Hungarian languages):

- i. bills of the SFRY Assembly and other proposals under consideration by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and their respective committees and the joint committees of the chambers and the resolves and minutes of the chambers and their respective committees and joint committees of the chambers;

ii. informative and documentary material concerning items on the agenda of sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and their respective committees and the joint committees of the chambers and also concerning other business within the jurisdiction of the chambers or their respective committees and the joint committees of the chambers which under the provisions of this operating procedure are sent to the delegates;

iii. other material sent to delegates, for example: the information bulletin of the SFRY Assembly, summons to sessions of chambers of the SFRY Assembly and the respective committees and the joint committees of the chambers and other notices.

The material referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article which is delivered to the SFRY Assembly by the Federal Executive Council, federal administrative agencies and federal organizations must be prepared and delivered in the languages and scripts of the nationalities of Yugoslavia established by republic constitutions and in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (the Albanian and Hungarian languages).

The material referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article delivered to the SFRY Assembly by other bodies and agencies and organizations and by delegations and delegates, which has not been prepared in all the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia and in the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (the Albanian and Hungarian languages) shall be translated in the SFRY Assembly into the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia established by republic constitutions and into the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (the Albanian and Hungarian languages).

#### Article 157

The delegates shall be delivered material in the language of the nationality of Yugoslavia established by republic constitution to which that delegate belongs unless he requests otherwise, and to a delegate who belongs to a minority in the language of a nationality of Yugoslavia which he specifies or in the language of the Albanian or Hungarian minority (the Albanian or Hungarian language).

The material of the SFRY Assembly shall be delivered to the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces in the language of a nationality of Yugoslavia which is used in that republic or autonomous province, and to the assemblies of the autonomous provinces in the language of the Albanian minority or the Hungarian minority (the Albanian or Hungarian language).

The material of the SFRY Assembly shall be delivered to bodies and agencies and organizations and individual citizens within a republic or autonomous province in the language of a nationality of Yugoslavia which is used in that republic or autonomous province, and in an autonomous province in the language of the Albanian or Hungarian minority (the Albanian or Hungarian language).

#### Article 158

The text of documents issued in the SFRY Assembly to delegates, such as the credentials of delegates and similar papers, shall be given in the languages and scripts of the nationalities of Yugoslavia established by republic constitutions and in the language of the Albanian and Hungarian nationality (the Albanian and Hungarian language).

Documents and other acts which apply only to a particular delegate shall be issued in the language of a nationality of Yugoslavia established by republic constitutions to which that delegate belongs unless he requests otherwise, and to a delegate who belongs to a minority--in the language of a nationality of Yugoslavia and in the language of the Albanian or Hungarian nationality (the Albanian or Hungarian language) which he specifies.

#### Article 159

The assemblies of the autonomous provinces and other bodies and agencies and organizations in areas where members of the ethnic minorities are living may submit proposals or requests for passage of bills by the SFRY Assembly and other proposals taken under consideration by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and their respective bodies in one of the languages of the ethnic minorities within that autonomous province or region.

Citizens who are members of minorities may submit to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and their respective committees requests for enactment of bills by the SFRY Assembly, proposals and other petitions in the language of the ethnic minority to which they belong.

Requests, proposals and petitions as referred to in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article, which are written in the languages of the minorities and which are to be delivered to delegates, shall be translated into the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia established by republic constitutions and into the languages of the Albanian and Hungarian minorities (the Albanian and Hungarian languages).

Answers to those requests, proposals and petitions shall be delivered in the language of a nationality of Yugoslavia or in the language of the Albanian or Hungarian minority (Albanian or Hungarian language) used by the petitioner in his request, proposal or petition.

#### XII. Procedure Governing the SFRY Assembly's Relations With the SFRY State Presidency

#### Article 160

As part of its cooperation with the SFRY State Presidency on matters of common interest the SFRY Assembly shall inform the SFRY State Presidency of sessions of the chambers and a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY

Assembly and shall deliver to it informative and other documentary material that has a bearing on proceedings of the SFRY State Presidency.

#### Article 161

Members of the SFRY State Presidency may attend and participate in joint sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and their respective committees and sessions of the joint committees of the chambers.

#### Article 162

Proposals of the SFRY State Presidency for establishment of domestic and foreign policy and for enactment of laws and other general acts shall be taken up in the competent chamber of the SFRY Assembly according to the procedure established by the operating procedure of that chamber.

#### Article 163

When the competent chamber of the SFRY Assembly calls upon the SFRY State Presidency to present its positions concerning various matters within its competence and which have a bearing on the proceedings of the SFRY Assembly, the president of the SFRY Assembly shall so inform the SFRY State Presidency.

#### Article 164

If the competent chamber of the SFRY Assembly does not accept the proposal of the SFRY State Presidency for establishment of domestic and foreign policy or proposal for enactment of a law or other general act whose enactment the SFRY State Presidency deems indispensable, or if it does not accept the proposal of the SFRY State Presidency to postpone enactment of a law or other general act, the president of the SFRY Assembly shall inform the SFRY State Presidency of the position of the competent chamber and of the reasons why that position was taken.

In the case referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article action shall follow the procedure set forth in Article 319 of the SFRY Constitution on the initiative of the SFRY State Presidency or the competent chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 165

The SFRY State Presidency shall inform the SFRY Assembly concerning the status and problems of domestic and foreign policy and concerning other matters within the jurisdiction of the SFRY Assembly in a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, and it may also do so in a session of a chamber whose jurisdiction includes the matters on which the SFRY Assembly is being informed.

#### Article 166

When the SFRY State Presidency suspends the execution of a regulation of the Federal Executive Council, the president of the SFRY Assembly shall so inform the competent chamber immediately upon being informed of the decision of the SFRY State Presidency.

The competent chamber of the SFRY Assembly shall decide whether the regulation of the Federal Executive Council is to remain in effect or be revoked or nullified.

The president of the SFRY Assembly shall inform the SFRY State Presidency of the position of the competent chamber.

#### Article 167

A question of confidence in the Federal Executive Council which the SFRY State Presidency puts before the SFRY Assembly in the exercise of its rights and duties shall be taken up in the manner set forth in this operating procedure and the operating procedures of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

The president of the SFRY Assembly shall inform the SFRY State Presidency of the decision of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly concerning the question of confidence which has been put by the SFRY State Presidency.

#### XIII. Procedure for Exercising the Rights and Discharging the Duties of the SFRY Assembly Toward the Federal Executive Council

##### 1. Representation of the Federal Executive Council in the SFRY Assembly

#### Article 168

The chairman of the Federal Executive Council shall represent the Federal Executive Council in chambers of the SFRY Assembly, in a joint session of the chambers and of their respective committees and in the joint committees of the chambers.

A vice chairman of the Federal Executive Council shall represent the Federal Executive Council in the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, in a joint session of the chambers and of their committees and in joint committees of the chambers in conformity with the resolutions of the Federal Executive Council or on the basis of authority granted by the chairman of the Federal Executive Council.

#### Article 169

In order to carry on constant cooperation with the SFRY Assembly the Federal Executive Council shall designate those of its members which are to

serve as permanent representatives in the respective chambers of the SFRY Assembly and in the committees of the chambers.

The Federal Executive Council may also designate officials directing federal administrative agencies or federal organizations who are not members of the Federal Executive Council to be its permanent representatives in various committees of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly concerning matters in domains that lie within the jurisdiction of the agency or organization the official directs.

#### Article 170

The Federal Executive Council may designate one of its members to represent it on a particular matter in a particular chamber of the SFRY Assembly and in the committees of the chambers.

The Federal Executive Council may also designate an official heading a federal administrative agency or federal organization who is not a member of the Federal Executive Council to represent it in a particular chamber of the SFRY Assembly and in the committees of the chambers on a particular matter in a domain which lies in the jurisdiction of the administrative agency or federal organization which he heads.

The Federal Executive Council may also designate an assistant secretary or assistant of an official who heads a federal administrative agency or federal organization to represent it in the committees of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly on a particular matter in a domain which lies in the jurisdiction of the relevant federal administrative agency or federal organization unless the operating procedure of the chamber provides otherwise.

#### Article 171

When the Federal Executive Council submits to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly a bill or other proposal for its consideration it shall notify the chamber about the representative it has designated.

Representatives of the Federal Executive Council shall attend sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and of their respective committees and sessions of joint committees of the chambers in which the bill submitted by that council is taken up and shall participate in the proceedings of the chambers, their respective committees and the joint committees of the chambers, shall present the views of the Federal Executive Council and shall inform the Federal Executive Council about the positions and opinions of the chambers or committees.

#### Article 172

The Federal Executive Council shall send its spokesman when a bill which that council has submitted is on the agenda of a session of the chambers of

the SFRY Assembly, their respective committees and the joint committees of the chambers.

The Federal Executive Council may also send its spokesman in other cases when it deems this necessary.

The Federal Executive Council shall also send its spokesman when this is requested by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, their respective committees and the joint committees of the chambers.

The spokesman of the Federal Executive Council shall attend sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, their respective committees and sessions of the joint committees of the chambers, shall provide information and clarifications concerning the bill and other matters which are on the agenda of the session of the chambers, their respective committees and the joint committees of the chambers.

#### Article 173

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly and their respective committees and the joint committees of the chambers shall inform the Federal Executive Council of their sessions, and the president of the SFRY Assembly shall inform it of a joint session of the chambers.

Notice of sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and their respective committees and the joint committees of the chambers at which a bill or other proposal submitted by the Federal Executive Council is to be taken up shall be sent to the representatives and spokesman of that council.

#### 2. Reporting to the SFRY Assembly on the Work of the Federal Executive Council

#### Article 174

The Federal Executive Council shall submit to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly a report on its work, on conduct of policy established by the SFRY Assembly, on the implementation of federal laws, other regulations and general acts adopted by the SFRY Assembly, on the situation in all domains of public life and also on other matters within its competence.

The report of the Federal Executive Council referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be submitted to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly at least once a year.

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall debate the report of the Federal Executive Council and shall set forth their views concerning the report which has been considered in their resolves.



#### Article 175

On its own initiative or at the request of one of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly set forth in a resolve of the chamber the Federal Executive Council shall submit a report on its work, on the situation in a particular domain of public life and on the implementation of particular laws, other regulations and general acts of the SFRY Assembly, and also concerning other matters in the competence of the particular chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

The competent chamber of the SFRY Assembly shall debate the report of the Federal Executive Council referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article and in its resolves shall set forth its positions concerning the report that has been considered.

#### 3. Exercise of Policy Control Over the Work of the Federal Executive Council and Accountability of the Federal Executive Council

#### Article 176

In the exercise of policy control over the work of the Federal Executive Council the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and their committees shall monitor the conduct of the established policy and the enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts adopted by the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 177

In the exercise of policy control of the SFRY Assembly over the work of the Federal Executive Council and in achievement of accountability of the Federal Executive Council to the SFRY Assembly each of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly may within its own jurisdiction initiate debate on matters which pertain to the work of the Federal Executive Council, specifically in relation to the conduct of policy established by the SFRY Assembly and concerning the situation in particular domains of public life, the enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts of the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council's guidance and coordination of the work of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations.

Debate of these matters may be initiated in connection with a bill, a report on the work of the Federal Executive Council, an interpellation which has been submitted, and in connection with other matters under consideration in a session of the chamber.

#### Article 178

Debate of matters pertaining to the exercise of policy control of the SFRY Assembly over the work of the Federal Executive Council and to achievement of the accountability of the Federal Executive Council may terminate in the following ways:

- i. by passage of a resolve setting forth the obligations of the Federal Executive Council and issuing it guidelines related to the conduct of policy and the enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts of the SFRY Assembly;
- ii. by passage of a resolve setting forth the obligations of the Federal Executive Council to take certain measures, to submit a report or bill or to deliver informative or other material;
- iii. by adoption of a position concerning the work of the Federal Executive Council and its accountability;
- iv. by the putting of a question of confidence in the Federal Executive Council or the chairman or an individual member of that council;
- v. by simple passage to the next item on the agenda.

#### Article 179

In the exercise of policy control over the work of the Federal Executive Council the competent chamber of the SFRY Assembly may revoke or nullify a regulation of the Federal Executive Council which is counter to the SFRY Constitution, federal law or other regulation or general act which it has adopted.

A proposal to revoke or nullify a regulation of the Federal Executive Council may be submitted by a delegate or delegation of the competent chamber and by a committee of the chamber.

The proposal to revoke or nullify a regulation of the Federal Executive Council shall be delivered to the Federal Executive Council so that it may present its position.

#### Article 180

If one of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly votes lack of confidence in the Federal Executive Council or chairman or individual member of that council, the president of that chamber shall so inform the president of the other chamber. In his notification the president of the chamber must state the reasons why the chamber voted lack of confidence in the Federal Executive Council or chairman or individual member of the Federal Executive Council.

The president of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly to whom notice has been given shall immediately call a session of the chamber to take a position in this matter.

#### Article 181

If the other chamber of the SFRY Assembly concurs with the position of the chamber of the SFRY Assembly which voted lack of confidence in the Federal Executive Council or the chairman or individual member of that council, the chairman and all members or the individual member of the Federal Executive Council shall be dismissed from their duties.

If the second chamber does not concur in the decision of the chamber which voted lack of confidence, the president of the chamber shall so inform the first chamber of the second chamber's position, as well as the reasons why it did not concur in the lack of confidence which was voted.

The president of the chamber which voted lack of confidence shall immediately inform that chamber of the other chamber's position. That chamber shall again debate the question of confidence in the Federal Executive Council or its chairman or individual member, and if it adheres to the position taken previously, the two chambers shall hold a session together in order to examine this question.

If even in the session which the two chambers hold jointly the chamber which voted lack of confidence adheres to its previous position, the chairman and all members or individual members of the Federal Executive Council shall be relieved of their duties.

#### Article 182

If it feels that it cannot guarantee conduct of the established policy or execution of an act of the SFRY Assembly whose adoption is proposed, or implementation of positions or proposed measures, or if it cannot assume responsibility for performance of its function should an act whose adoption is proposed be passed, and if it feels that it cannot abide by guidelines issued to it by one of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, the Federal Executive Council may put a question of confidence.

#### Article 183

The question of confidence shall be put on behalf of the Federal Executive Council by the president of the council or member of the council designated its representative by the council in a session of the competent chamber of the SFRY Assembly before that chamber makes its decision which is the occasion for the question of confidence put by the Federal Executive Council.

The competent chamber of the SFRY Assembly shall vote on the question of confidence at the same time as it votes on the matter which was the reason for putting the question of confidence. If in its vote on this matter the chamber decides contrary to the opinion or proposal of the Federal Executive Council, it shall be taken that it has simultaneously voted lack of confidence in that council.

If the competent chamber of the SFRY Assembly has in this manner voted lack of confidence in the Federal Executive Council, the procedure set forth in Article 180 and 181 of this operating procedure shall be conducted.

#### Article 184

If the Federal Executive Council submits a collective resignation, the chairman of the council shall submit the collective resignation to the president of the SFRY Assembly, who shall send it to the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, the president of each chamber of the SFRY Assembly shall send that collective decision to all members of the chamber.

A collective resignation of the Federal Executive Council shall be taken up by both chambers of the SFRY Assembly, and they may open debate concerning that resignation.

#### Article 185

If the chairman of the Federal Executive Council or individual member of that council submits his resignation, the resignation shall be submitted to the president of the SFRY Assembly, who shall deliver it to the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly. The president of each chamber of the SFRY Assembly shall deliver that resignation to all members of the chamber.

Both chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall take up the resignation of the chairman or individual member of the Federal Executive Council, and they may open debate with respect to that resignation.

#### Article 186

If the Federal Executive Council submits a collective resignation or if the chairman of that council submits his resignation, the Federal Executive Council shall remain in office until a new council is elected.

XIV. Procedure for Exercising the Rights and Discharging the Duties of the SFRY Assembly Toward the Federal Administrative Agencies and Federal Organizations

#### Article 187

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly, their respective committees and the joint committees of the chambers may within the limits of their competence call upon federal administrative agencies and federal organizations to perform the following:

- i. to study a particular matter within their jurisdiction and to submit a report to them on that matter;

- ii. to inform them about the situation and occurrences in a domain within their jurisdiction;
- iii. to inform them about the conduct of policy set forth by the SFRY Assembly and about enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts of the SFRY Assembly concerning particular matters that lie within their jurisdiction;
- iv. to prepare a proposal of a law, other regulation or general act in a domain that lies in their jurisdiction for adoption by the SFRY Assembly;
- v. to submit information and clarifications to them concerning matters within their jurisdiction;
- vi. to furnish them information in their possession or which within their jurisdiction they are required to gather and register, as well as papers and other material necessary for the proceedings of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, their respective committees and the joint committees of the chambers.

If a federal administrative agency or federal organization feels that because of its other regular obligations it is unable to fulfill the request of a committee of a chamber pertaining to preparation of the proposal of a law, other regulation or general act, which has not been envisaged in the program of the chamber or a resolve of the chamber, it shall so inform the committee of the chamber and Federal Executive Council and shall present the reasons why it cannot do so.

#### Article 188

The committees of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly may enter into agreement with officials heading federal administrative agencies and federal organizations that specialists from the relevant administrative agency or organization shall participate in the work of a commission, study group or other group established by the committee to study particular matters and to prepare laws, other regulations and general acts.

#### Article 189

The joint committees of the chambers and the committees of the respective chambers shall inform federal administrative agencies and federal organizations about meetings in which matters pertaining to a domain in their jurisdiction will be debated so that their representatives can participate in those meetings.

#### Article 190

Officials heading federal administrative agencies and federal organizations have the right and duty to participate in proceedings of sessions of

chambers of the SFRY Assembly when those sessions are debating a bill regulating matters pertaining to a domain in the jurisdiction of the Federal Administrative Agency or federal organization which they head or other matter pertaining to a domain in the jurisdiction of that agency or organization.

In sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly those officials shall submit to the chambers information and clarifications concerning matters under consideration, and they are required at the request of the chambers to submit such information and clarifications in writing.

The officials referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, on their own initiative or at the request of joint committees of the chambers and committees of the respective chambers of the SFRY Assembly, shall participate in proceedings in sessions of those committees when those sessions are taking up a bill regulating matters which pertain to a domain within the jurisdiction of the federal administrative agency or federal organization which they head or other matter pertaining to a domain within the jurisdiction of that agency or organization.

If an official is prevented from participating in proceedings in the session of a committee, he may order that another responsible official in the relevant administrative agency or organization shall participate in proceedings in the session.

So that the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, their respective committees and the joint committees of the chambers are regularly informed about the work of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations concerning the situation, occurrences and problems in domains that lie in the jurisdiction of those agencies or organizations and so that those bodies receive the necessary information and clarifications of matters being considered in proceedings in sessions of the chambers, their respective committees and joint committees of the chambers, another official in that agency or organization who has been specifically designated has the right to participate as a representative of the federal administrative agency or federal organization.

#### Article 191

Officials heading federal administrative agencies and federal organizations shall at the request of a chamber of the SFRY Assembly present a report on the situation in a relevant domain, concerning enforcement of federal laws, other regulations and general acts of the SFRY Assembly and concerning other matters within their jurisdiction and concerning the work of the agency or organization which they head.

The chamber may in its resolve set the date by which the official is required to submit his report.

## Article 192

The provisions of this operating procedure pertaining to debate of matters that concern the work of the Federal Executive Council and the putting of a question of confidence, dismissal and resignations of the chairman and all or any members of that council shall be appropriately applied to debate of questions concerning the work, putting a question of confidence, dismissal and resignation of officials heading federal administrative agencies and federal organizations and other officials appointed by the SFRY Assembly.

XV. Procedure for Exercising the Rights and Discharging the Duties of the SFRY Assembly Toward the Yugoslav Constitutional Court, the Federal Court, the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office, the Federal Public Defender of Self-Management Law and the Social Accounting Service

## Article 193

Opinions and proposals of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court concerning achievement of the constitutionality and legality and the taking of steps to protect the rights of self-management and other freedoms and rights of citizens and self-managed organizations and communities before that court, reports of the Federal Court and the federal public prosecutor concerning general problems of justice and concerning the work of the Federal Court or federal public prosecutor, reports, opinions and proposals of the federal public defender of self-management law, and the report of the Social Accounting Service concerning occurrences related to supervision of the legality of disposition of public assets and concerning the work of the Social Accounting Service with respect to performance of functions that are relevant to the entire country, which are submitted to the SFRY Assembly, shall be submitted to the president of the SFRY Assembly, who shall send them to the president of the Federal Chamber.

If those opinions, proposals and reports raise questions within the jurisdiction of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, the president of the SFRY Assembly shall also send them for consideration to the president of that chamber.

When the Chamber of Republics and Provinces has examined those opinions, proposals or reports insofar as they pertain to business within its jurisdiction, it shall take its position. The president of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces shall inform the president of the Federal Chamber of the positions taken by that chamber.

In debating those opinions, proposals and reports the Federal Chamber shall also take into consideration the position which the Chamber of Republics and Provinces has taken on them.

#### Article 194

The Chamber of Republics and Provinces may also take up on its own initiative matters related to the enforcement of federal law which it enacts and a question related to the work of the Federal Court and the federal public prosecutor.

The president of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces shall also deliver to the Federal Chamber its opinions and proposals which it has adopted concerning those matters.

#### Article 195

The Yugoslav Constitutional Court shall submit a proposal for institution of proceedings for evaluation of the constitutionality and legality of laws, other regulations and general acts of the SFRY Assembly to the president of the SFRY Assembly, who shall send it for consideration to the chamber whose jurisdiction includes enactment of that law, other regulation or general act.

In accordance with the opinion and resolve of the competent chamber or committee of a chamber of the SFRY Assembly, the president of the chamber shall deliver to the Yugoslav Constitutional Court an answer to the proposal for evaluation of constitutionality and legality and shall designate the person who shall represent the SFRY Assembly in proceedings before the Yugoslav Constitutional Court.

Either chamber of the SFRY Assembly may decide to institute proceedings for evaluation of the constitutionality and legality of a regulation before the Yugoslav Constitutional Court.

The proposal for institution of proceedings for evaluation of constitutionality and legality shall be submitted on the basis of a resolve of the chamber by the president of the chamber through the president of the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 196

A request for rendering an opinion as to whether a republic constitution or provincial constitution violates the SFRY Constitution shall be submitted to the Yugoslav Constitutional Court by the president of the SFRY Assembly on the basis of a resolve of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 197

Decisions of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court pertaining to a federal law shall be delivered by the Constitutional Court to the president of the SFRY Assembly, who shall send them to the president of the competent chamber of the SFRY Assembly.



The president of the competent chamber must make the decision of the Constitutional Court known to the chamber in the next meeting of the chamber.

XVI. Procedure Governing Cooperation of the SFRY Assembly With the Assemblies of the Republics and the Assemblies of the Autonomous Provinces

Article 198

In the exercise of its rights and discharge of its duties the SFRY Assembly shall cooperate with the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

That cooperation shall be achieved through the participation of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces in formulating federal policy, in enactment of federal laws, other regulations and general acts of the SFRY Assembly, in adoption of the calendars and programs of the chambers, and in the exercise of their rights and discharge of their duties in the proceedings of the chambers and their respective committees and the joint committees of the chambers.

Article 199

The president of the SFRY Assembly and the presidents of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall inform the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces concerning the date when a joint session of the chambers or session of a chamber are to be held and shall deliver to them the proposed agenda of the sessions along with the relevant material.

Joint committees of the chambers shall inform the corresponding committees of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces concerning the date when they hold their sessions and shall deliver to them the proposed agendas and material on items on the agenda, along with other material being prepared in those bodies.

Article 200

The joint committees of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly may directly seek opinions concerning individual matters under their consideration from the relevant bodies of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

The opinions which committees of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces submit on their own initiative or at the request of a joint committee of the chambers shall be taken up in its session by that committee, and, if it submits its report to the chambers on that matter, its report must make known to the chamber the opinion of the relevant committee of the assembly of the republic or the assembly of the autonomous province and must also present to the chambers its opinion, that is, take a position concerning that opinion.

The chairman of the joint committee of the chambers shall inform the chairman of the committee of the assembly of the republic or the assembly of the autonomous province about the position taken concerning the opinion of the committee of the assembly of the republic and the assembly of the autonomous province.

XVII. Procedure Governing Cooperation of the SFRY Assembly With Sociopolitical and Other Public Organizations, Self-Managed Organizations and Communities and Other Organizations at the Federal Level

Article 201

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall cooperate with the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the League of Yugoslav Trade Unions and other sociopolitical and other public organizations, self-managed organizations and communities and other organizations at the federal level, in the following specific ways: by providing for their participation in consideration of socioeconomic and political issues within the jurisdiction of the chambers, in programming and scheduling the work of the chambers, through participation of representatives of those organizations in proceedings of sessions of the chambers, their committees and joint committees of the chambers, and by organizing public debates and other forms of consultation of the general public concerning matters being deliberated by the chambers.

To that end the chambers, committees of the respective chambers and joint committees of the chambers may call upon sociopolitical and other public organizations, self-managed organizations and communities and other organizations at the federal level for opinions and proposals concerning particular matters within their jurisdiction, and they may summon their representatives to their sessions to present their opinions and proposals.

When a session of a chamber, committee of a chamber or joint committee of the chambers is taking up matters which are significant or important to achievement of the goals and performance of the tasks of sociopolitical and other public organizations, self-managed organizations and communities and other organizations at the federal level, those organizations and communities have the right to demand of the chamber, committee of a chamber and joint committee of the chambers that they be allowed through their representatives to present their opinions and positions concerning these matters in those sessions.

The chambers of the SFRY Assembly, their respective committees and joint committees of the chambers must take a position concerning this request and communicate their position to the interested sociopolitical and other public organizations, self-managed organizations and communities and other organizations at the federal level.

## Article 202

The SFRY Assembly or chamber of the SFRY Assembly may in agreement with sociopolitical and other public organizations and self-managed organizations and communities at the federal level establish joint committees to take up particular matters of common interest and to submit opinions or prepare proposals concerning those matters.

The agreement to establish a joint committee shall state the tasks, composition and procedure of the joint committee and regulate other matters important to performance of the tasks being assigned to that body.

## XVIII. Procedure Governing Cooperation of the SFRY Assembly With Representative Bodies of Other States

## Article 203

The SFRY Assembly's cooperation with the representative bodies of other states shall be achieved as follows: by the sending of delegations, delegates and study groups of the SFRY Assembly, of its chambers and committees of the chambers to the representative bodies of other states and by the receiving of delegations, study groups or members of representative bodies of other states, in the form of cooperation of the Yugoslav Group of the Interparliamentary Union with the national groups of representative bodies of other states and in the work of the Interparliamentary Union, by the participation of representatives of the SFRY Assembly at international conferences, by exchange of documentary and informative materials and publications with the representative bodies of other states, and through other forms of cooperation.

## Article 204

The SFRY Assembly's cooperation with the representative bodies of other states shall be conducted on the basis of the program for cooperation of the SFRY Assembly with the representative bodies of other states which shall be adopted by the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

Programs for cooperation of the SFRY Assembly with the representative bodies of other states shall be adopted for each year.

The proposed program for cooperation of the SFRY Assembly with the representative bodies of other states, after consideration by the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly, shall be submitted by the competent committees of the chambers to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly for consideration and adoption.

#### Article 205

In conformity with the program for cooperation of the SFRY Assembly with the representative bodies of other states, the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly, on the basis of the proposal of the competent committees of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, shall establish the goals and tasks of visits of the delegation of the SFRY Assembly being sent to the representative body of another state or which is being established in connection with a visit to the SFRY Assembly by a delegation of the representative body of another state, as well as the composition of the delegation of the SFRY Assembly.

The chief and members of the delegation shall be designated from among the delegates of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

A delegation of the SFRY Assembly shall submit a report on a visit within 15 days from the date when the visit ended.

The competent committees of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall at the end of each year submit a report on fulfillment of the program for cooperation of the SFRY Assembly with the representative bodies of other states.

After their consideration by the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly the reports referred to in Paragraphs 3 and 4 of this article shall be submitted to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

In connection with consideration of these reports the chambers of the SFRY Assembly may within their jurisdiction adopt a resolve setting forth the obligations of federal administrative agencies and federal organizations with respect to fulfillment or monitoring fulfillment of the obligations and tasks set forth in the resolve and pertaining to them and also with respect to informing the chamber of the SFRY Assembly concerning these matters.

#### Article 206

The provisions of Articles 203 through 205 of this operating procedure shall be appropriately applied to cooperation of the SFRY Assembly with international organizations.

XIX. Operating Procedure of the SFRY Assembly During a State of War or in Case of an Immediate Danger of War

#### Article 207

During a state of war or in case of an immediate danger of war the provisions of the Operating Procedure of the SFRY Assembly shall be applied in the SFRY Assembly unless the provisions of this section state otherwise.

#### Article 208

During a state of war or in case of an immediate danger of war the delegates in the SFRY Assembly who have been called up for military duty or who for other reasons have moved from their city or street address must inform the SFRY Assembly of every change of their address in the shortest and fastest way.

#### Article 209

In addition to the rights and duties set forth in Article 40 of this operating procedure, the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly shall also have the following rights and duties.

- i. to consider immediate tasks to be taken in connection with the work of the SFRY Assembly because of the state of war or immediate danger of war;
- ii. to propose, in agreement with the presidents of the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces, to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly measures which should be taken and to itself take the necessary measures and appoint the time and place for holding sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly;
- iii. to consider and take positions concerning the manner of calling delegates to a joint session or separate sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and concerning the manner of delivery of material to delegates for those sessions, and it may order that the delegates be summoned to a joint session or to separate sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly by public summons (over the radio or television or through the press) or in some other manner (through government agencies, self-managed organizations and communities, etc.), if the special conditions of the state of war or immediate danger of war so require;
- iv. it may if necessary order the manner in which transcripts and minutes of sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, joint committees of the chambers and committees of the respective chambers of the SFRY Assembly are to be kept, published and preserved, and that manner may depart from the provisions of the operating procedures;
- v. when the interests of the country's security or defense so require, it may order that bills and proposals of other general acts under consideration in the SFRY Assembly, certain informative and other documentary materials, announcements and reports concerning the proceedings of the joint committees of the chambers and the committees of the respective chambers of the SFRY Assembly and transcripts of sessions of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly not be made available to representatives of the press and other news media unless the chamber or committee of a chamber states otherwise;

vi. to examine and take positions concerning the manner of performance of tasks by the staff services of the SFRY Assembly during the state of war or in case of an immediate danger of war.

#### Article 210

The president of the SFRY Assembly may call a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly within a period shorter than 10 days before the date appointed for holding the joint session and may propose the agenda for that session in the session itself. The president of the SFRY Assembly may summon the delegates to a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and inform them about the proposed agenda and the session by a public summons (over radio and television or through the press) or in some other manner (through government agencies, self-managed organizations and communities, etc.).

If necessary material pertaining to matters on the proposed agenda of a joint session of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly may be delivered to the delegates no later than before commencement of the session if they have not been delivered along with the summons to the session.

#### XX. The Secretary General and Staff Services of the SFRY Assembly

#### Article 211

The staff services of the SFRY Assembly shall exist to perform the technical and other tasks to meet the needs of the SFRY Assembly, the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, their respective committees, the joint committees of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and the delegations and delegates.

The staff services of the SFRY Assembly shall perform technical and other tasks related to the preparation of programs and calendars of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, preparation of meetings of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and joint committees of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly and committees of the respective chambers of the SFRY Assembly and preparation of proposals of laws, other regulations and general acts and other materials on the basis of resolves of the chambers and committees of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly; they shall extend technical aid to delegates and delegations in the SFRY Assembly; they shall perform analytical tasks and tasks related to information and documentation to meet the needs of the SFRY Assembly; they shall provide the necessary conditions for the work of the delegates and delegations; and they shall perform administrative, technical and other tasks to meet the needs of the SFRY Assembly.

The tasks, organization and work of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly, their mutual relations, the manner of appointment or hiring or dismissal of officials who independently perform certain technical tasks and the manner of appointment or hiring and dismissal of directors of the staff services and other organizational units and their accountability shall be set forth

in more detail in the order concerning the organization and work of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly which the chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall adopt on an equal footing.

#### Article 212

General supervision over the staff services of the SFRY Assembly shall be exercised by the secretary general of the SFRY Assembly.

The secretary general shall organize and coordinate the work of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly in performance of tasks and jobs to meet the needs of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, their committees and the joint committees of the chambers and the delegations and delegates and shall see to the unified functioning of those staff services.

The secretary general shall issue instructions to govern the work of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly aimed at ensuring effective performance of tasks to meet the needs of the SFRY Assembly and synchronization in their work.

With respect to employment relations and self-management in the staff services of the SFRY Assembly the secretary general shall have the rights and duties of an official heading a federal administrative agency unless specific regulations provide otherwise.

The secretary general shall prepare a proposal for provision of funds in the federal budget for the work of the SFRY Assembly and its staff services.

The secretary general shall perform the function of controller concerning fulfillment of the projection of the use of funds of the SFRY Assembly.

#### Article 213

The general secretary of the SFRY Assembly shall be appointed and dismissed equally by the two chambers of the SFRY Assembly on the recommendation of the Commission for Elections and Appointments.

The secretary general shall be accountable for his work and for the work of the staff services of the SFRY Assembly to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, and concerning matters within the jurisdiction of the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly and the president of the SFRY Assembly--to the Presidency of the SFRY Assembly and president of the SFRY Assembly, respectively.

The secretary general of the SFRY Assembly shall have a deputy, who shall replace the secretary general when he is absent or incapacitated and shall perform other tasks entrusted to him by the secretary general. The deputy secretary general shall be appointed and dismissed equally by the two chambers of the SFRY Assembly on the recommendation of the Committee for Elections and Appointments.

7045

CSO: 2800

## YUGOSLAVIA

### ACTIVITIES OF MACEDONIAN LEADERS REPORTED

Mateja Matevski, Metropolitan Kiril in Rome

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 24 May 78 p 1

[Excerpts] Vatican, 23 May (Tanjug)--Today Monsignor Agostino Casaroli received the chief of the Yugoslav delegation to the manifestation "Yugoslavia in Honor of Saint Cyril," President of the Republic Commission for Foreign Cultural Relations Mateja Matevski, and the chief of the delegation of the Macedonian Orthodox Church Metropolitan Kiril. In addition, both Matevski and Metropolitan Kiril were received by Monsignors Torella and Cappio at the Secretariat for Christian Unity. The delegations were also received by Sergio Romano, Director of the General Directorate for Culture of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Italy. Yugoslav Ambassador to Italy Dr Borislav Jovic and Embassy Counselor Dr Aziz Hadzihasanovic also attended the foreign ministry receptions.

Colombian Ambassador Received

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 24 May 78 p 3

[Text] Blagoja Taleski, President of the Macedonian Assembly, received Dr Dario M. Medinas, Colombian Ambassador to the SFRY, on a protocol visit and held talks with him. Ambassador Medinas was also received in separate protocol visits by Blagoj Popov, president of the Macedonian Executive Council, Vlado Maleski, member of the Macedonian Presidency, and Metodi Antov, president of the Skopje Municipal Assembly.

Popovski, Popov With Slovenian Officials

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 26 May 78 p 6

[Text] Yesterday, a group of officials and workers of the Slovenian Republic Secretariat for International Relations and the Republic Committee for Foreign Economic Cooperation headed by Marjan Osolnik and Jan Jernej visited Skopje. The Slovenian guests had working contracts with officials



and workers of the Macedonian Republic Secretariat for International Relations and the Republic Secretariat for Economic Relations With Foreign Countries. During the course of their visit of several days in Macedonia, they will be visiting Ohrid and several other cities.

The Slovenian guests met yesterday with Dusko Popovski, member of the presidency of the Central Committee of the LC of Macedonia, who familiarized them with certain current trends in the relations and cooperation with neighboring countries.

During the course of the day, the Slovenians visited the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts, where they talked to Dr Blagoj Popov, secretary of the academy.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

RISTO DZUNOV BLASTS BULGARIAN TREATMENT OF MACEDONIAN MINORITY

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 22 May 78 pp 1, 3

Unsigned Article: "Disregard of the Rights of the Macedonian Minority in Bulgaria is Contrary to the UN Charter"

[Text] Vlasinsko Ezero, 21 May--(Tanjug)--On this date, more than 30,000 reserve commissioned and noncommissioned officers, members of the Yugoslav Peoples Army, citizens, youth, and Pioneers of Macedonia, Serbia, and Kosovo attended a large national meeting of brotherhood and unity at Vlasinsko Ezero in honor of Tito's birthday and Youth Day.

The meeting, where a congratulatory letter was sent to President Tito, was addressed by the following:

Hamdija Omanovic, acting president of the Federal Committee of the Federation of Reserve Officers of Yugoslavia, and Risto Dzunov, Vice-President of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY.

Hamdija Omanovic first spoke on the results of self-managed socialist construction in Yugoslavia and noted that national defense and social self-protection is also developing at the same rapid pace. After noting the importance of meetings such as these where brotherhood and unity are fostered, Risto Dzunov, Vice-President of the Federal Conference of SAWPY, pointed out some fundamental principles of Yugoslav domestic and foreign policy, emphasizing the fact that self-managed Yugoslavia is earning considerable respect through the world. He stressed the consistent pursuit of a policy of complete equality and free development of all the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia and emphasized the respect for the national rights of portions of Yugoslav peoples who live as national minorities in other countries.

Dzunov said: We resist resolutely and consistently the assimilatory policy in certain neighboring countries. We consider the elimination and disregard of the rights of the Macedonian national minority in Bulgaria to be contrary to the UN Charter and with the Final Act of the Conference for European Security and Cooperation in Helsinki. We consider, stated Dzunov, that it is in the interest of the peoples of the two countries to have the national

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rights of the Macedonian national minority restored. This would be the most positive move made to date in the postwar relations between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.

We shall favor closer cooperation of the Balkan countries in the future, stated Risto Dzunov, at the large national meeting held today at Vlasinsko Ezero.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

GENERAL ILIC INTERVIEWED ON GREAT-POWER STRATEGIES

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 1 Apr 78 pp 15-17

[Interview with Lt Col Gen Stevo Ilic, professor of strategy and deputy director at the Superior Military Training Center in Belgrade, by Mladen Paver]

[Text] [Question] If we take as our point of departure the observation that the era of a general bipolar balance of forces in the world is increasingly a thing of the past, giving way to much more complicated relationships, can we speak of the establishment of new centers of military power in the world, Comrade General?

[Answer] Such processes are indeed beginning to be evident. Above all, this applies to China (with 6 million people under arms in peacetime) and Western Europe; over the long haul, to Brazil, Japan, Canada, the wealthy countries of the Arabian/Persian Gulf, etc. These countries are not yet great military powers exercising decisive influence on international military/political occurrences, and practically all of them--in terms of their general position--fail to constitute a separate factor in world global strategy. For the moment, only the Chinese strategy is an intervening variable in what had been the bipolar strategy of the United States and the USSR heading up their respective great military blocs. Military/political processes in the world--if we leave the nonaligned countries aside--are thereby beginning to take on a triangular character.

[Question] You said, "if we leave the nonaligned countries aside."

[Answer] Yes, because the forces of peace and progress, which have rallied together above all in the nonaligned movement as the antithesis of the politics of force and domination, are demonstrating increasing readiness and ability to resist the hegemony of the great powers with all the means at their disposal, including force of arms when there is no choice, in the struggle for peace, independence, and more just economic and sociopolitical relationships.

This is not only a moral force but also and increasingly a material force. Long-term estimates and plans are being worked out concerning the potentialities of this force but also concerning ways to neutralize and oust it. There is no need to repeat here the long list of occurrences convincing us of that.

[Question] Does the polycentric picture of tomorrow's world promise fewer prospects for the implementation of deals and military moves at the expense of third parties?

[Answer] I think that it can be put that way theoretically. In any case, this is part of the convulsive and occasionally contradictory--yet irresistible--emergence of the people onto the stage of world history in an active role. Heretofore, political influence has followed economic power, military force political influence. By all indications, we shall have to continue to take this into account in the immediate future. Accordingly, the danger that regional zones of interest will be established and recognized continues to be a possibility today, nor dare we rule out such a possibility in the foreseeable future, either.

[Question] May we continue this line of thought with a review of what is new in the global strategy of the United States?

[Answer] Since the era of the strategy of so-called massive retaliation (the 1950's) and since the loss of the American nuclear monopoly led to the strategy of flexible response, the "strategy of indirect advance" has been evolving for a whole decade in the United States.

This concept, based on the accepted idea that global equilibrium has been achieved between the superpowers in the main in terms of basic combat factors (especially nuclear weaponry) and on the view that a direct confrontation with the USSR should be avoided (because of the risk of nuclear catastrophe) unless vital U.S. strategic interests are involved, is directed toward a policy of relaxation and negotiation, but only between the superpowers. Accordingly, detente will continue to be the stable strategic orientation of the United States, although setbacks are possible, as is currently the case.

One of the additional characteristics of this strategy is so-called partnership, which means in practical terms that the Western allies are to assume heavier obligations than heretofore both in the realm of the defense of the interests of the West in Europe and in the financing of military needs (certain statistics show that the United States is reducing its share of increased NATO costs from 46 percent to 38-39 percent).

On the basis of negative experiences over the long years of military involvement in Southeast Asia, the "strategy of indirect advance" resorts very often to special methods of warfare in order to spread U.S. influence

while preserving detente. These more concealed yet no less brutal methods of pressure, which avoid the eyesore caused by the prime use of armed force, are proving to be an exceedingly serious threat to small and independent countries.

[Question] What trends are coming to the fore in the current evolution of the U.S. armed forces?

[Answer] In their long-term planning and current measures, a dual aim is perceptible. First of all, to maintain the balance with the USSR, along with attempts to achieve "technological superiority." At the same time, armed forces capable of effective action against small and nonaligned countries throughout the world are being built up. These are the instruments of the familiar "one-and-a-half-war" doctrine, under which the United States must be able to wage a "big" war in Europe or Asia (against the USSR and the Warsaw Pact nations simultaneously with a "small" war of limited, local significance in any part of the world.

To continue to guarantee the presence of the United States in all important areas of the world (such is the prime motivation behind this global strategy), parallel efforts are being made in the buildup of the armed forces to bring about a qualitative improvement in the effectiveness of conventional forces and weapons systems (suitable for deployment in local wars and acts of military intervention) and to arrive at new qualitative achievements in the design of nuclear weaponry.

[Question] The question of the neutron bomb is difficult to avoid. In these pages, 15 days ago, we published a letter from a reader who criticized both our paper and the public as a whole for not doing enough to support the campaign against NATO and the Pentagon in connection with the deployment of neutron bombs in Western Europe.

[Answer] I think that we have expounded our country's view in public and in very precise terms, expressing our concern and understandable indignation over the announced possibility that a new variety of thermonuclear weapon may be introduced onto our continent--new chiefly in the sense that it lowers the threshold of the atomic threat in real terms.

It might be interesting to recall certain estimates of what the neutron bomb would cost the United States. A figure of \$300 billion has been mentioned. In other words, more than 2 years' total military expenses for the richest country in the world! The declaration from the most responsible Soviet level to the effect that the USSR would then be compelled to manufacture this weapon ought to be considered very seriously. According to the characteristic opinions of certain analysts, the United States--apart from any direct need for the neutron bomb--expects primarily to force its rival into a new, exhausting round in the arms race. For a country that certain American estimates have spending as much as 36 percent of

its national income on defense (a figure to be taken with a grain of salt), this would surely be an unusually heavy additional burden, which would be bound to have an effect on the living standard of the citizenry. By this logic, the opposite side would be left with enormous political and psychological/propaganda advantages, which are already being abundantly exploited in the West.

[Question] The current U.S. strategic concept, while relying on colossal sources of material power, is obviously not devoid of substantial problems.

[Answer] Certainly. Its problems might be described in this way: how to maintain and extend its own influence throughout the world and achieve perceptible superiority over the Warsaw Pact without endangering negotiations with the USSR and the relaxation of international tension; how to prevent the nonaligned from strengthening their role and extending their influence; how to shift the rising costs of armaments to the NATO partners while strengthening the alliance's internal cohesion and the leading position of the United States; and so forth.

We still do not know whether the present administration will be changing anything in the familiar strategy of indirect advance, but there are indications that the United States might be conducting itself more selectively, more flexibly in international relations during the coming period.

[Question] How is the global strategy of the USSR evolving?

[Answer] As the first socialist country and one of the big winners in World War II, the USSR has achieved a well-known position in the world by the very nature of things. By the establishment of the Warsaw Pact and the results in the realm of missile and nuclear weaponry, the USSR is becoming a factor of prime military significance in the world in terms of the impact and scale of its influence. The USSR has been building up its military power as a counterweight to the United States ever since World War II, and to China in the last decade.

The Soviet strategy, like the American, has undergone basically three phases of development.

Toward the end of the 1950's, the USSR turned a large peacetime army armed and led according to the experiences of World War II into nuclear forces capable of inflicting barely sustainable losses on U.S. territory. That was the main reason behind the adjustment in U.S. strategy.

In the era of nuclear balance and relaxation, Soviet strategy relied on the destructive power of its strategic weaponry (earmarked primarily for a strike against the United States) and on the striking force of its conventional military arms.

In the last decade, Soviet strategy has been pursuing so-called harmonious development for all branches and arms of the service, including the land forces, air forces, and navy, which had been neglected in favor of nuclear weaponry. Superiority over the United States in conventional forces has been maintained. Particularly substantial results have been accomplished in the development of the navy, which has materialized in all oceans and seas of the world and is today one of the important elements of Soviet global strategy.

[Question] Are there some other similarities between the military strategies of the USSR and the United States?

[Answer] Differences aside, there are similarities in basic strategic commitments. The USSR, while endorsing detente as a lasting commitment, is also preparing itself to wage any kind of war, a general nuclear war or a local war. We should also remember that the USSR now accepts the possibility of waging local wars in Europe, which was not formerly the case. Although the Warsaw Pact has not formally adopted the theory of special warfare, certain forms and methods of this type cannot be said to be entirely alien to it. Then there are the problems and the efforts to strengthen cohesion.

[Question] A series of indisputable results in the buildup of Soviet military might has also left certain unsettled problems facing the country. Are they similar to the American headaches?

[Answer] The specifics cannot be overlooked. Aside from the general problem of strengthening its own presence throughout the world without endangering negotiations and relaxation with the United States; one of the most important preoccupations of Soviet strategy will prevent the USSR from taking action in a freer way on the world stage for a long time to come: the possibility of a military confrontation in the Far East, on the border with China.

This is interconnected with the question of how to achieve a strategic deployment of armed forces on the border with China and in the south of Europe without weakening the position on the Central European battleground. This problem has already been resolved to a great extent, certain analyses show. Yet other problems remain: how to keep pace economically with the United States in the arms race, how to stave off all the processes leading to the weakening of the Warsaw Pact and the leading role of the USSR, how to provide stable support for Soviet naval forces in the Mediterranean and the Indian and Pacific oceans, etc.

[Question] What strategic concepts are accompanying the Chinese breakthrough from their long-standing isolation? Even today, as you have pointed out, this breakthrough is imparting triangular features to global relations.



[Answer] China has the largest conventional armed forces in the world today in terms of numbers. In addition, China has managed to build a modest basis for its nuclear forces. There will be more and more of them, and they will be better and better, so the two great powers will have to take them into consideration in the coming worldwide competition. In any case, Chinese involvement in Asia and Africa plainly confirm China's potential involvement in Asia and Africa.

Chinese military strategy is still based on the idea of permanent revolutionary warfare and the inevitability of a new worldwide military clash. To China, confrontation with the USSR is a factor of lasting significance, as is the Chinese striving for heightened influence in the world and a larger role in the international workers' movement.

China's defensive strategy is directed toward preparations for waging a prolonged, nationwide war of liberation. The creation of a strategic nuclear potential, which has been slow to be developed thus far, is taken by numerous theoreticians in the world to be a prerequisite if China is to play the role of a great power in international relations. The pace at which these strategic concepts are implemented will also be determined by the limitations of the material and financial resources at China's disposal for the arms race if it wants to be a great military power.

[Question] In general, what conclusions deduced from these overall reflections impinge upon the strategy of the great powers in relation to Yugoslavia?

[Answer] There have been two tendencies so far. The first is not to permit the other side to extend its influence in our area, since that would fundamentally endanger the global balance of forces; the second, to maximize one's own influence. Certain known forces are not even renouncing their illusions about radical changes in Yugoslavia.

Even when there have been changes in the behavior of the great powers towards us, they were more modifications than basic changes. If one of the aforementioned approaches does not apply to every situation, that is due to the great power's appraisal as to what can be achieved at a given moment in a given area with various methods and means.

[Question] In these pages, last Saturday, we published a review of the latest report from the so-called Trilateral Commission, which contains certain new accents in relation to Yugoslavia. What is decisive over the long run in the formulation of U.S. strategy in relation to Yugoslavia?

[Answer] In the light of U.S. strategy, Yugoslavia is a socialist country, lost forever to the capitalist world. Whatever it is, however, Yugoslavia in objective terms is an element of equilibrium between the great powers in the Balkans. It enjoys enormous prestige in the nonaligned movement.

Finally, by the nature of its social system, Yugoslavia is in constant conflict (latent or real) with the bureaucratic/statist forces and concepts of contemporary socialism. If we add Yugoslavia's geostrategic position, then it is understandable why U.S. strategy since the war has evolved from military displays to a paternalistic concern for our country's fate during the time when the pressures of the Cominform and Stalin were the worst.

Apart from these two extremes, American strategy in relation to us has been noted for a moderate orientation, which has lasted the longest and--we should say--continues today.

[Question] What conclusions could be drawn from their considerations?

[Answer] Yugoslavia's readiness and ability to defend its own freedom and independence are so obvious that no open armed intervention has any prospect of prompt and definitive success from any side.

So far, nonaligned Yugoslavia's role in the movement of the forces that are struggling for peace and against pressure and domination has not fitted into U.S. global strategy. Hence, an effort has been made to weaken Yugoslavia's influence in the nonaligned movement, to use all possible methods and forces (intelligence/subversive activity, emigres, the domestic enemy, various forms of pressure) so as to weaken the overall situation inside Yugoslavia and establish conditions for greater political influence in the country.

Official U.S. policy has lately been showing signs of greater understanding of Yugoslavia's role and prestige in the nonaligned world. This might have an effect on American strategy in relation to us, since the most important element of that strategy is to prevent the rival side from obtaining more radical influence in Yugoslavia, inasmuch as that would considerably undermine the regional equilibrium in Southern Europe and the Mediterranean.

[Question] In this context, could one detect identical views in Soviet strategy in relation to our country?

[Answer] The USSR is also compelled to accept Yugoslavia as it is, an element of balance in Europe and the Mediterranean. This objective fact suits our whole international position and security. Moreover, the USSR must take into consideration Yugoslavia's enormous prestige in the non-aligned movement and in the international workers' movement. Contrary behavior would quite certainly damage the aspirations of Soviet global strategy for the broadest possible influence in the world, especially in the nonaligned countries.

Nonetheless, Yugoslavia as it is (a self-managing social system, an autonomous selection of paths for further revolutionary transformation, an

extra-bloc nonaligned country that is a champion of peace and resistance to every hegemonistic encroachment) will continue to have its own independent views on all the more significant issues and relationships in the international community. This will probably lead to misunderstandings, in the future as in the past, on the part of certain countries toward our commitments.

[Question] Yugoslavia seems to be one of the rare countries to maintain good relations with all three great powers simultaneously.

[Answer] Yes, Yugoslavia is the only country in the world to have good relations with all three countries, as has been confirmed most persuasively by the remarkable visits of Marshal Tito to Moscow, Peking, and Washington.

These relations with the United States, the USSR, and China are an important element of our stability in foreign policy and of our overall position in the world in terms of military strategy.

Every potential aggressor against our country must assume that we would receive great moral and political support from all the progressive forces in the world, the nonaligned and other countries. This is surely one of a series of factors deterring an aggressor from an attack on Yugoslavia.

However, the greatest guarantee of our independence and security and the prime deterrent against aggressive attack on Yugoslavia remains our determination to defend our freedom and independence with our own forces. This determination is expressed in the strength of our nationwide defense, which is well known both to friends and those who are not.

[Question] These facts intrude themselves as premises for the appraisal of Yugoslavia's military/political position....

[Answer] The interbloc situation and our relations with our neighbors have an effect, of course, but the stability of the social system and the overall strength of our defense are the prime deterrents to any conceivable aggressor.

Geographically, Yugoslavia divides the focus of the military arrangements of the great powers (Central Europe) from the focus of interbloc confrontation (the Mediterranean and the Middle East).

Because of its geographical position, Yugoslavia must invariably suffer all the unfavorable implications of unsettled relations in the wider Mediterranean region. Every exacerbation of the situation in that part of the world has an adverse effect on our overall military/political position.

Nonaligned Yugoslavia's territory averts direct ground contact between NATO countries and signatories to the Warsaw Pact and--in combination with

Albanian territory--bisects NATO's southern flank. Our geographical position is such that an interbloc clash in Southern Europe would be unlikely to bypass our territory, which in a wider context is caught in the grip of two basic strategic thrusts: Pannonia/Lombardy and Vardar/Morava.

For all these reasons, both great powers and military blocs ascribe particular significance to Yugoslav territory in their strategic appraisals, which estimate advantages and shortcomings that would fall to each side in the event of control over that territory.

[Question] What would those military calculations look like from a NATO perspective?

[Answer] Control over Yugoslav territory would serve to establish an uninterrupted overland link between NATO forces in Central Europe and on the southern flank, where there has been a crisis for some time ever since the events in Portugal and Spain, the general crisis in Italy, and the Greek-Turkish conflict over Cyprus. From Yugoslav territory, Warsaw Pact forces in Central and Southern Europe could be considerably endangered.

Shifting air, missile, and electronic bases (regardless of satellites, very significant for the guidance of missiles and aircraft) 400 to 600 kilometers eastward would augment the detection range for Warsaw Pact assault forces and the range of NATO's own forces in that direction. Certain elements of our economic potential might also be significant to NATO. All in all, NATO control of Yugoslav territory would significantly weaken certain Warsaw Pact geographical advantages.

[Question] And if the angle of observation is shifted 180 degrees?

[Answer] Conditions would be considerably improved for the basing of Warsaw Pact naval forces in the central Mediterranean, a matter of vital importance in the appraisal of forces in this part of Europe and in wider terms. This would provide more auspicious conditions for influence on North Africa. Control of Yugoslav territory would enable the Warsaw Pact to change the balance of power in Southern Europe considerably to its benefit. Shifting Warsaw Pact air, missile, and electronic bases to the south and west would render NATO's southern flank much more vulnerable to Warsaw Pact strikes.

Yugoslav territory constitutes a solid base for a fast breakthrough to other parts of the Balkan peninsula and towards the Appenines and the Pyrenees. Otherwise, Yugoslavia's economic potential could be extraordinarily significant to the Warsaw Pact.

[Question] This interesting survey might well be ended with a question on this order: how do the "great ones" see us, and how do we see them?

[Answer] Geographically, Yugoslavia is in an area where the interests of the great powers confront each other. Despite our entry into the era of stabilization, in contrast to the first 25 years after the war (let us not forget that someone has reached for the nuclear trigger twice over Berlin), military forces in Europe are not being reduced in size. We have just been witnessing contrary trends. In this light, it is not difficult to explain the significance of the military strategic position of our country for the global strategies of the two great powers and their military/political organizations.

Both global strategies classify Yugoslavia as an area of possible crises, so it is difficult to assume that certain countries lack a thorough strategy of indirect advance encompassing a wide range of elements from political support and encouragement for independence and autonomy to economic, political, ideological, cultural, and intelligence pressure, sometimes even frank threats.

However, we should point out that we are developing relations with the great powers on the basis of independence, respect for national integrity, and reciprocity. Thanks to our resolute stand and our readiness to defend by all forces and means our independence, territorial integrity, and independent path to socialism, and to our role in the nonaligned movement, the great powers consider Yugoslavia an exceptional factor of peace in Europe and the world. Indirectly, this is support for strengthening our international position, regardless of occasional aspirations of one kind or another in relation to us.

In a word, Yugoslavia's military/political position has never been as favorable and stable as today. But regardless of that, and of our good relations with all the great powers, not to speak of other countries, so long as objective circumstances exist in the world for the outbreak of military conflicts, Yugoslavia must strengthen its defense forces as a component part of its strategy of peace and a powerful factor to deter aggressors from attacking our country and all forms of pressure and hegemony.

[Question] President Tito's appraisal in his interview with the American newscaster Walter Cronkite to the effect that Yugoslavia could put 8 million people onto the battlefield, if need be, was a reminder that a truly respectable defensive potential is involved here.

[Answer] The point was made at a recent scholarly gathering in Yugoslavia that the country is relatively small geographically, economically, and in a military sense but that its political reputation and diplomatic influence far exceed its demographic and economic potentialities, so that its voice in certain situations takes on the weight of a great power.

I disagreed, and said so right away, that we are a small power militarily. From the standpoint of a traditional army that would be used for aggression,

yes: our potentialities are truly small. Since we will never attack anyone, however, since our armed forces are solely for the defense of the country, we can develop a defensive capacity on such a scale that no one, not even a great power, has any chances of subduing us. From this standpoint, may we not state that we are a great power in a defensive sense?

Because we have extended the boundaries of our comprehensive and well-prepared defensive system almost to Marx's concept of the "armed folk," our president was able to say what he did. Our strength lies precisely in that and is surely a more reliable deterrent to aggression than nuclear weaponry.

By developing a system of nationwide defense with reliance on our own forces, we may be anticipating the future development of defense arrangements by many countries and peoples. It is not difficult to guess how much that would reduce the room for maneuver for blocs, for diverse "protective umbrellas," for contests among "hawks." Appetites for spheres of influence, for pressures by military force, for interference in the internal affairs of others would decline. Equality, independence, and the sovereignty of peoples and countries, small and large, would acquire new strongholds and values.

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YUGOSLAVIA

CEREMONIES AT GRAJSKA VAS: KARDELJ ATTENDS, SETINC SPEAKS

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 22 May 78 pp 1, 3

[Excerpts] The 40th anniversary of the first conference of the Communist Party of Slovenia was celebrated on 21 May 1978 at Grajska Vas. More than 7,000 people attended, including Edvard and Pepca Kardelj, Franc Leskosek-Luka, Branko Babic, and Andrej Stegnar, who had participated in that first conference. Others at the celebrations included Sergej Kraigher and Lidija Sentjurc, France Popit, Mitja Ribicic, Vida Tomsic, Janez Vipotnik, and Andrej Marinc. Franc Setinc was the main speaker and Edvard Kardelj spoke at the dedication of a new monument.

In his speech, Franc Setinc, Secretary of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia, blasted the tendency of League of Communist members to be intolerant toward persons of other persuasions to the extent of excluding them from participation in building a self-managed socialist society. He also noted a trend toward political elitism in the form of "high politics" which fails to reach the masses. He said:

"Today also we are encountering many cases of sectarianism which are no less dangerous to the influence of the League of Communists on the masses than, let us say, incidents of clericalism," stressed Setinc. "Sectarianism is not a staff room matter at all. Rather, it comes in the form of concrete incidents connected with a lack of understanding of the role of the League of Communists and the SAWP in society. The sectarians do not understand or do not wish to understand that we are struggling for the broadness of our socialist front in order to get all people involved in building socialism, regardless of ideological persuasion or momentary ideological differences, so that they themselves could be the subject of their own lives, their own happiness, and their own future.

Anyone who would insist that these days we do not need a broad front of action and a tolerant attitude to people who at times think differently about certain things than we communists do but are nevertheless in the forefront of the fight for social progress, would be attacking the foundation of our system and the goals for which we are fighting and for which

so much was sacrificed. If such a broad front approach was necessary during the time of the national liberation war--without such an approach there would have been no victory--then it is needed even more today, when we are building a socialist self-managed society. [use of quotes as published]

We live at a time when it is necessary to intensify and strengthen our historic foundations and to use them for building the strong structure of a socialist self-managed society. Of course, this is a great opportunity for everybody to cooperate in this great campaign for social transformation, through which the value of human work and living expands and deepens. Everybody--worker, farmer, or teacher--has to become more and more conscious of being the shapers of their own happiness, and therefore each one has to make each and every social action signify a step forward in liberating work and man of all class limitations and alienation. In such a case, we must always strengthen the attainments of the revolution and develop its values. This should not be done as it was in the past when everything achieved was holy and unchangeable forever. Rather, it should be an opportunity for the younger generation to develop these attainments further and to express its own originality, life style, and future with them. We have to develop our socialist self-managed democracy--the Socialist Alliance in it especially--as a democratic tribune for all the people that could be used to inform the worker of the concrete problems and interests in a much freer and decisive way than by any other system. In our country, we are developing this very kind of system in which we do not treat self-management separately from socialism and socialism is not kept isolated from its democratic forms and ways of development. It is also for this reason that we are critical toward everything that some people at home or abroad would want to foist upon us as something better, as a single valid model, although they are unable to make their relations measure up to what we have fashioned ourselves. More likely they would foist upon us a dilemma, which is not our dilemma, a road which is not a road to freedom and independence and a system which is not a system of socialist self-managed democracy. Therefore we do not want this, and we will also never allow anyone to tailor our clothes using a system of foreign measures. Also, we will permit no one in the future to divert us from our life, from what we have become through our history and struggle, and from what we want to create in the future.

CSO: 2800



## YUGOSLAVIA

### 1976-1980 CONSTRUCTION OF CAPACITIES FOR NONMETALS PRODUCTION AFTER 1980

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 22, 28 Apr 78 pp 795-796

[Agreement entered into by the Federal Executive Council and the executive councils of the republics and autonomous provinces]

#### [Text] Article 1

In conformity with the Yugoslav Social Plan for the Period From 1976 to 1980 (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 33, 1976) and the policy and obligations established in the Agreement on Bases of the Yugoslav Social Plan for Development of the Production of Nonmetallic Minerals From 1976 to 1980, and taking as their point of departure the Bases of Joint Policy Governing the Long-Range Development of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia up to the year 1985 (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 51, 1975), the parties to this agreement hereby establish continuity in construction of the capacities necessary to development of the production of nonmetallic minerals whose construction will begin before the year 1980, while production in those facilities is to begin after the year 1980.

The parties to this agreement are agreed that in the period between 1976 and 1980 they shall in their activity and in conformity with law and the policy of Yugoslavia's economic and social development guide and stimulate the construction of mining capacities and capacities for separation and flotation necessary for the production of nonmetallic minerals after the year 1980, including the taking of initiative to encourage organizations of associated labor to establish in good time the amount of money necessary to finance the construction, the sources of funds, and the manner of financing.

#### Article 2

Continuity in construction of capacities for development of the production of nonmetallic minerals set forth in this agreement is based altogether on the goals, policy and criteria set forth in the Agreement on Bases of the Yugoslav Social Plan for Development of the Production of Nonmetallic Minerals From 1976 to 1980.

### Article 3

The parties to this agreement, in conformity with Article 2 of this agreement, establish that before 1980 construction should begin on the following capacities which would be completed and put into operation after the year 1980:

In thousands of tons

	<u>Yugoslavia</u>	<u>Bosnia- Hercegovina</u>	<u>Montenegro</u>	<u>Croatia</u>	
Phosphate rock--ore	1,600	--	--	--	
Concentrated phosphate	400	--	--	--	
Magnesite--ore	550	--	--	--	
Concentrated magnesite	240	--	--	--	
Asbestos--ore	900	--	--	--	
Asbestos fiber	36	--	--	--	
Raw refractory clay	200	--	--	100	
Burned magnesite	120	10	--	50	
Kaolin (upgraded)	20	--	--	--	
Silica sand, quartzites	650	--	--	--	
Bentonite (upgraded)	175	--	--	--	
Salt and brine (magnesium oxide and chrome)	43	--	25*	--	
	<u>Macedonia</u>	<u>Slovenia</u>	<u>Serbia</u>	<u>Kosovo</u>	<u>Vojvodina</u>
Phosphate rock--ore	--	--	1,600	--	--
Concentrated phosphate	--	--	400	--	--
Magnesite--ore	50	--	200	250	50
Concentrated magnesite	20	--	100	100	20
Asbestos--ore	200	--	700	--	--
Asbestos fiber	6	--	30	--	--
Raw refractory clay	--	--	100	--	--
Burned magnesite	10	--	50	--	--
Kaolin (upgraded)	20	--	--	--	--
Silica sand, quartzites	100**	200	350	--	--
Bentonite (upgraded)	45	--	30	--	100
Salt and brine (magnesium oxide and chrome)	--	18	--	--	--

\* The processing of salt and brine after evaporation at the Ulcinj Seawater Evaporation Pond will yield 25,000 tons of MgO and 5,000 tons of Cr.

\*\* Includes facilities for production of 4,000 tons of silica.

#### Article 4

The parties to this agreement estimate that approximately the following investments will be necessary for construction of the capacities referred to in Article 3 of this agreement to create conditions for achievement of the estimated level of production of nonmetallic minerals:

In millions of dinars

For phosphate rock mines and flotation facilities	about 1,000
For magnesite mines and separation facilities	about 386
For asbestos mines and separation facilities	about 500
For raw refractory clay	about 200
For burned magnesite	about 400
For upgraded kaolin	about 50
For flint, quartzite and silica	about 40
For bentonite (upgraded)	about 150
For salt and brine (MgO and Cr)	about 270
Total	2,996

The parties to this agreement estimate that about 800 million dinars will have to be invested up to 1980 to build facilities for the capacities referred to in Article 3 of this agreement.

#### Article 5

The parties to this agreement are agreed that the measures of economic policy and other measures envisaged in Articles 13 through 22 of the Agreement on Bases of the Yugoslav Social Plan for Development of the Production of Nonmetallic Minerals From 1976 to 1980, the measures contained in the provisions of Part 3 of the Yugoslav Social Plan for the Period From 1976 to 1980, and measures to be established by the agreement among the republics and autonomous provinces concerning federal incentives for development of activities of particular importance which have not been provided for in the provisions of Part 3 of the Yugoslav Social Plan for the Period From 1976 to 1980 shall be applied in building the capacities referred to in Article 3 of this agreement.

#### Article 6

Every party to this agreement may initiate reexamination of the questions and relations which are the subject matter of this agreement and its amendment.

#### Article 7

This agreement has been signed by the representatives of the Federal Executive Council, the executive councils of the assemblies of the republics and

the executive councils of the autonomous provinces in a corresponding number of identical copies, which are regarded as authentic texts.

Article 8

This agreement shall take effect upon confirmation by the SFRY Assembly, the assemblies of the republics and the assemblies of the autonomous provinces.

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END